

**Gender and Policy Development in Mid-sized Canadian Cities:
A case study of local economic development in Waterloo Region**

by

Rebecca Nabert-Chubb, BA, MPA

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Public Policy and Administration
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
December 2009

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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-63860-6
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-63860-6

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Abstract

Gender mainstreaming at the local scale in Canada has been concentrated in the largest urban centres, where it has sometimes evolved into an equity lens that subsumes gender under a broader concern for diversity. This thesis examines the consideration of women-based concerns and gender issues in a mid-sized urban region, where gender mainstreaming was previously unheard of. The purpose is to ask why more cities are not conducting gender mainstreaming, particularly in economic development which has a significant impact on women's opportunities for empowerment, and to analyze the factors that lead to gender mainstreaming policy adoptions and sound implementation. A comparative case study of three culturally distinct municipalities in Waterloo Region, Ontario is used to examine the treatment of women and gender concerns in a two-tiered government system as it shifts from a traditional manufacturing economy to a knowledge and service-based economy.

The findings are that a new dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame, led by private sector elites is being institutionalized through multi-scalar, public-private partnerships, replacing the municipal-based traditional economic development policy frame. Contrary to the neoliberal underpinnings of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and public-private partnerships associated with them, the new policy frame opens a discursive space in local economic development to consider socio-economic issues by emphasizing the importance of complete and attractive communities under a discourse of livability and economic inclusion. By strategically framing the labour market inclusion of immigrants to resonate with the new policy frame, diversity advocates achieved what gender advocates could not: creating community-based partnerships with the mainstream

economic development policy community, increasing women's participation in the policy making process, and putting women – albeit “immigrant women” – onto the mainstream agenda. The thesis concludes that the entrepreneurial cities policy frame is more women-friendly than the traditional economic development policy frame, although it is by no means a replacement for a sustainability policy frame. Finally, diversity strategies can empower ethno-culturally diverse women.

Acknowledgements

I cannot say nor do enough to thank the many people who supported me throughout this endeavor. My parents, husband, and children most of all have given me their time, patience, and loving support over the years. Their sacrifice for my benefit will always be deeply appreciated. My parent-in-laws also deserve much gratitude for their continual support and free dinners.

I am also greatly indebted to my supervising committee for their guidance, encouragement and confidence in me. Their theoretical teachings and belief in the importance of examining the questions herein allowed me to persevere when rational judgment seemed to suggest otherwise. The staff and faculty of the School of Public Policy and Administration can also not be forgotten for their time and efforts in providing assistance through the degree requirements.

Finally, I am thankful to all of the participants who volunteered their valuable time to this research process and who provided thoughtful and provoking information, which generated new research questions. Although I tried in all earnest to provide truthful accounts of all information that was provided during the research process, I of course, am solely responsible for any faults in interpretation and conclusions that lay herein.

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List of Abbreviations

- CTT.....Canada's Technology Triangle
GBA.....Gender based analysis
GM.....Gender mainstreaming
ICT.....Information communication technologies
NPM.....New public management
WRIEN.....Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network

Introduction

Gender mainstreaming (GM) is a potentially transformational policy tool designed to enable policy-makers to identify potential disparate outcomes of state programs and policies on men and women before policies are implemented. It does this by shifting the responsibility to consider gender issues from women's units to all government departments, which are asked to routinely analyze their policies and programs for gender and diversity impacts, thereby dispersing a gender lens throughout the government bureaucracy. GM is now practiced at the national and international levels of policy-making, and to varying degrees at sub-national levels. In Canada, the federal and provincial governments use a GM approach to enhance gender equality outcomes in several policy fields.

At the urban scale, GM is most developed in the largest metropolitan centres of Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa and Montreal. It is less well-known in mid-sized and smaller urban areas. Many smaller urban centres, however, are experiencing population growth rates above the national average and they also develop policies that affect women and gender equality. Moreover, as the urban scale is thrust into the driving seat of national competitiveness in the global economy, cities of all sizes from America to Asia are performing increasingly important economic functions. Their roles in fostering social cohesion, citizenship, and grassroots social movements are no less diminished by their economic importance. I argue that it is vital for women's empowerment and gender equality that the economic and political interests of women are not excluded from policy analysis as mid-sized cities aspire to become global cities. GM in local economic development can enhance women's opportunities for empowerment through greater

decision-making participation and improved access to economic resources as gender differences are brought to the attention of policy-makers. Consequently, this thesis asks two questions about gender and policy development in mid-sized Canadian cities: why is gender mainstreaming underdeveloped as a policy tool; and what factors might influence the adoption of gender mainstreaming?

The examination of gender inequality at the urban scale serves policy development and feminist agendas. From a policy perspective, gender inequality and the opportunities for women's empowerment are affected by a multi-scalar governance structure, in which federal policies set the priorities and parameters for sub-national policy development. At the same time, large and mid-sized cities are in a state of flux as they confront the challenges of increasing responsibility for development policy and economic stewardship and aim to become global players in the knowledge-based economy. As policies are developed at the urban scale with local political cultures and economic factors in mind, local labour markets become even more distinct. These local and regional variations set the limits of opportunities for women's empowerment and in turn, shape profiles of gender equality. From a women-centered perspective, the local scale is well-established in feminist theory and empowerment models as a critical space contextualizing the everyday realities of women's lives and as a scale in which women challenge unequal gender relations. Unlike Canada's largest metropolitan centres where gender and equity lenses are being employed, however, many mid-sized cities are undertaking major policy transitions without assessing the potential impacts on diverse women and gender equality. This period of policy expansion at the urban scale presents a significant opportunity for mid-sized cities to examine how women and gender issues are considered in policy-

making and the feasibility and applicability of GM, particularly under new public management strategies. If unequal gender relations are not addressed by mid-sized cities in the transition from traditional economic development to entrepreneurial city strategies, then diverse women stand to be marginalized or excluded from the design and opportunities of cities in the knowledge-based economy.

The thesis distinguishes between women-based concerns, which are inequalities that require collective feminist action and interpersonal struggles to change unequal power relations that detrimentally affect women and girls (i.e. women's empowerment); and gender issues, which are inequalities that arise due to the assumptions of traditional gender roles – and not necessarily unequal power relations – that affect men and women differently. For example, what has become known as 'the second shift' or achieving equality in intra-household divisions of unpaid work began as a women-based concern, since women traditionally performed the majority of unpaid household and care-giving work. As women struggle to change the patterns of unpaid household work and awareness of the second shift increases, it becomes a gender issue as institutions shift to accommodate the re-positioning of men's and women's gender role expectations. Therefore, an employers' assumption that men will use limited parental leave or that women assume the majority of care-giving work becomes a gender issue. There is also a common discursive practice to frame issues that largely affect women but also include men and children into non-gender-specific terms, such as, domestic violence, human trafficking and the sex trade. Nevertheless, the unequal power relations that lead to women and girls being the victims of these crimes more often than men make them into

women-based concerns, such as the struggle to save women's shelters from government funding cutbacks.

Investigating the orientation to GM in mid-sized cities provides a different perspective on the factors that influence the adoption of GM than currently exists in the research literature. This perspective is further enhanced by looking at smaller urban areas where receptiveness to GM is low and no specific policies or programs have been adopted. Instead of focusing on factors leading to the adoption of a GM policy – an approach that emphasizes social movement theory – this study directs attention to factors that inhibit the adoption of a GM policy – an approach that emphasizes the role of policy-makers. This thesis highlights policy-makers' perspectives on whether and how gender matters in local policy-making and what is necessary to create a GM policy.

Theoretically, this thesis aims to contribute to an understanding of the factors that influence the adoption and implementation of GM in mid-sized cities. The factors associated with GM policy adoptions in the literature are a favourable political opportunity structure, the presence of GM activists and allied elites, and the ability of GM advocates to strategically frame gender equality goals to resonate with mainstream goals. The implementation factors that are emphasized in the literature are the inclusion of diverse women in decision-making processes, the collection and availability of gender-disaggregated statistics, and the provision of gender sensitivity training within organizations since GM requires that regular policy actors employ a gender lens in the policy-making process.

There are three assumptions underlying this thesis. The first is that local economic development policy-making is a multi-scalar process that involves various levels of

public and private sector involvement. Therefore, a multi-scalar, policy community approach is adopted to investigate the local economic development policy-making process. The second assumption is that gender equality is achieved by empowering women relative to men, rather than a decrease in men's status. Therefore, two empowerment models are combined to ascertain whether policy processes, strategies and expected outcomes can lead to women's empowerment. The third assumption is that policy actors employ cognitive and discursive policy frames to identify and define problems, categorize the problem makers' and problem solvers' roles, derive possible solutions, and decide and implement action strategies. Policy frames are used to organize a policy-makers' general perspective in any given policy field. This thesis analyzes the policy-makers' local economic development and gender equality frames. Each of these assumptions is described in more detail below.

First, the policy community approach is a valuable analytical tool to identify the participants and power relations in a multi-scalar and multi-sectoral policy-making landscape influenced by new public management tactics. The policy community approach is used to track the policy actors, institutions, frames, processes and power relations beyond federal, provincial, and local governments into the private and public-private sectors of the community. It situates the position and participation of diverse women and men in the policy-making process by analyzing their relative degrees of input and influence both within their organizations and in the broader context of the policy community. This approach also facilitates an analysis of policy frames to identify the rationales supporting particular economic development issues that are prioritized and

attended to by the policy community, and where women-based concerns and gender issues fit in with these issues.

Second, I argue that if regional economic theories assume that local governments can use policy tools to drive innovation and competitiveness, then local governments can also use policy tools to shape their local economy to provide opportunities for women's empowerment. Empowerment is conceptualized as a process through which a disadvantaged group of people increases its power through access to resources (broadly defined), and internalizes a sense of entitlement and self-efficacy to make strategic life decisions that alter existing power relations in its favour (Kabeer 1999; England 2000). According to empowerment models, economic resources accruing from a husband or other male relative increase a woman's dependency on that man; whereas, economic resources attained through labour market participation increase a women's purchasing power vis-à-vis a seller, and thus, her bargaining power vis-à-vis a male spouse, partner or guardian to secure outcomes in her own self-interest. Laws, institutional rules, and norms also comprise the objective bases of women's power. In addition, subjective bases of power affect a women's willingness to use the objective bases of power to improve her bargaining power vis-à-vis a man. Thus, public policies, and local economic development policies in particular play a crucial role in women's empowerment by influencing a woman's access to economic resources, which in turn increase a woman's purchasing power and bargaining power. Empowerment processes extend beyond interpersonal relationships, however, into the organizing structures of a society so that a previously disadvantaged group engages with the dominant group in controlling resources, ideologies, institutions, and structures. Therefore, the participation of diverse women in

setting economic development agendas and in the decision-making processes of policy-making is theorized to empower women and to increase the efficacy of GM.

Third, this thesis suggests that local economic development policy frames are socially and locally constructed with gender implications manifested in the institutional arrangements of policy-making bodies. According to the theory of strategic framing, this thesis suggests that various economic development policy frames open or close discursive spaces to consider gender and diversity issues, depending on the way they combine social and economic issues. In particular, I argue that the more that the dominant economic development policy frames incorporate social factors into economic development analysis, such as the impacts of the informal economy on paid labour, the greater opportunity GM advocates will have to strategically frame GM to resonate with economic development goals, and the more likely policy-makers will be to consider women-based concerns and gender issues in discussions that shape the socio-spatial character of local labour markets. This argument is based on the theory that strategically framing women's empowerment and gender equality to resonate with the goals of an existing, dominant policy frame plays a pivotal role in GM policy adoptions (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Verloo 2001; 2004; 2005). A policy frame resonance is argued to be imperative to the transformative potential of GM because it helps regular policy actors reconcile gender equality goals with their mainstream organizational priorities.

This study follows a cultural political economy approach, which analyzes how powerful local actors employ gender equality and policy frames in conjunction with multi-scalar structures, institutions and processes to turn dominant discursive positions into material outcomes (Dannestam 2008). A comparative case study of three adjoined

cities in one regional municipality is used to examine the underdevelopment of GM and the factors that inhibit it in a mid-sized city. For these purposes, the Waterloo Regional Municipality in Ontario provides an interesting local economic development policy community-based on its industrial mix of high technology, business and financial services, and traditional manufacturing clusters; its two-tier governance structure which includes a regional government overseeing three culturally distinct municipalities in one geographic location; and the locally-based mobilization of public-private partnerships. These factors allow for an analysis of women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development that considers: 1) the influence of multi-scalar governance; 2) local political cultures; 3) the potential for enhancing diverse women's empowerment in new public management models versus municipal bureaucracies; and 4) the potential for diverse women's empowerment through diversity strategies.

Three economic development policy frames are found among Waterloo Region's local economic development policy community derived from a keyword analysis according to frequency and context of local policy texts and interviews with the policy community. The economic development policy frames are: traditional economic development; entrepreneurial cities; and sustainable development or the sustainability policy frame. These frames are considered to be the rationale for economic development strategies employed by the policy community and to account for the consideration of women's empowerment and gender equality. They are examined in this thesis for their capacity to resonate with these goals.

The gender equality frames that are used to describe the interviewees' overall view of unequal gender relations are derived from several interview questions regarding the

interviewees' perception of the roles that women and gender relations play in their work in local economic development (their gender lens) and in society more generally (the gender equality frame). In the absence of existing GM policy adoptions and explanatory factors, this thesis uses the policy actors' gender lenses and gender equality frames as indicators of if and how women-based concerns and gender issues are addressed in local economic development policy-making. The examination of the policy actors' gender equality frames and their receptiveness to GM detects whether there are GM advocates or allied elites among the policy community. Since GM was previously unheard of in Waterloo Region's economic development policy community, I do not find allied elites in this context, but a small group of gender and diversity "norm entrepreneurs" (Elgstrom 2000) with the goal of upsetting unequal gender relations. The remaining gender equality frames found among the policy community are diversity supporters, who feel that gender-based analysis should only be included in policy-making along with other demographics in the context of a diversity analysis; and equal opportunists, who feel that equal gender relations exist in Canadian society and that gender differences are an expression of people's choices.

In summary, the thesis focuses on four factors that influence the consideration of women and gender-based concerns: 1) the role of women and norm entrepreneurs in the policy community and in the decision-making processes; 2) the local economic development policy frames, discourses and their ability to incorporate social factors into economic policy discussions that may lead to women's empowerment; 3) the policy community members' receptiveness to gender and diversity issues according to their gender equality policy frame; and 4) the technologies of power that key policy actors use

to solidify discourses into material outcomes, such as institutions, strategies, and partnerships. Finally, this thesis employs the empowerment models to suggest whether diverse women can be empowered through diversity strategies that are not gender-specific, and how women's opportunities for empowerment differ when policies are made in government bureaucracies compared with public-private partnerships.

The major findings of the thesis are first, that many of the key policy actors are members of the private and public-private sectors, suggesting that it would be insufficient to adopt GM in municipalities alone based on the influence of local public-private partnerships to set the local economic development agenda. Second, the federal and provincial governments play important leadership roles in local economic development by setting priorities and funding community-based organizations, which are then able to create public-private partnerships based on the resources they offer municipal bureaucracies. The federal government could do more, however, to provide local gender-disaggregated statistics that can be used for gender sensitivity training to overcome the bureaucratic value of neutrality and to enhance the gender lens of the majority of the policy community members.

Third, the policy actors who are categorized as norm entrepreneurs in their gender equality frames consistently employed an entrepreneurial cities policy frame; while those who are categorized as equal opportunists were more apt to use the traditional economic development policy frame. Moreover, policy actors who adhere to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame expressed support of local diversity strategies. Female bureaucrats who use the traditional economic development policy frame based on their roles in the policy community do not see unequal gender relations as an economic development

issue. This common view among female bureaucrats suggests that the dominant policy frame is a greater indicator of the consideration of women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development than the gender of the policy community members, and qualifies the idea that women's participation in the policy-making process is empowering and leads to policy outcomes that consider women's experiences and gender differences.

The fourth finding is the importance of frame bridging as norm entrepreneurs were more successful at getting gender recognized as a diversity issue onto the economic development agenda when the dominant economic development policy frame employed a human capital focused solution and livability discourse. Since a livability discourse encourages local policy-makers to consider social and economic issues in tandem, norm entrepreneurs were able to frame the labour market inclusion of diverse peoples, including immigrant women, onto the economic development agenda. Norm entrepreneurs felt that a woman-based issue would not garner the support of the policy community as a stand-alone issue. This suggests that norm entrepreneurs strategically framed women's empowerment and gender equality goals within the dominant references of the policy community.

Finally, this thesis argues that diverse women's participation in local policy-making is increased through new public management tactics and that diverse women's empowerment is enhanced by diversity strategies, even when gender is considered secondary to an ethnic-cultural identity by mainstream policy-makers. This type of information can be used by feminist theorists to examine two current debates in gender and policy development. The first is the consideration of women-based concerns and

gender issues in local policy-making in view of the gender and diversity debates informed by intersectionality theorists. The second concerns the prospects for women's empowerment and enhanced gender equality in various institutional arrangements of public, private, public-private, or community-based policy development. The findings from this thesis also serve a practical and strategic purpose for GM advocates to influence multi-scalar policy-making conditions.

I begin the thesis by arguing for an examination of gender inequality and the factors hindering GM's development at the mid-sized urban scale in light of the current global and Canadian policy context and contemporary feminist debates on the role of intersectionality in GM. I then discuss how GM policy adoptions are linked to the concept of policy frames through the tactic of strategic framing and suggest that the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame is supplanting the traditional economic development policy frame and overshadowing the sustainability policy frame in local economic development. Chapter one concludes by introducing the comparative case study area of Waterloo Regional Municipality.

In chapter two I trace the multi-scalar emergence of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame as the new dominant policy frame in local economic development. I argue that on the one hand, the dominant action strategies of industry clusters and creative cities found in the entrepreneurial cities policy frame have unexamined consequences for women's access to good-paying jobs, however, these action strategies are more permeable to considering women and gender issues via their livability discourse than traditional economic development strategies. Therefore, from a strategic framing perspective, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame opens a discursive space to consider diverse women's

concerns and gender issues. On the other hand, from a feminist perspective, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame is not a sufficient replacement for the sustainability policy frame, which could accommodate an argument for gender mainstreaming to achieve the goals of women's empowerment and gender equality rather than improving livability factors to attract highly skilled workers and investment. In chapter three I develop the rationales for using comparative case studies and cultural political economy methodologies to analyze the factors inhibiting GM at the mid-sized city scale. I argue that context-specific data gathered in comparative case studies is vital for building qualified generalizations for policy and empowerment studies. I then explain the interview and analytical methodologies that are used to derive the policy community's economic development and gender equality policy frames.

The main objectives of chapter four are to introduce Waterloo Region's economic development policy community and to examine the local economic development policy-making processes of the regionally-based public-private partnerships. I argue that the key actors from the private sector are responsible for adopting the entrepreneurial cities policy frame in Waterloo Region and introducing it to the rest of the policy community organizations. I suggest that two gender-related impacts of the adoption and implementation of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame in Waterloo Region are: 1) the emphasis on entrepreneurship in male-dominated sectors, namely, high technology and advanced manufacturing over female-dominated sectors; and 2) a locally-adapted, Mennonite-based creative cities discourse that led policy-makers to pay attention to diversity issues among the labour force. Despite initially favouring male-dominated sectors of the local economy, I suggest that community-based, public-private partnerships

recognized the discursive opening in the livability discourse to frame diversity and social inclusion issues to resonate with community attractiveness and quality of life factors; thereby, increasing the participation of women and the attention to diverse women in local economic development policy-making.

In chapter five I argue that an economic-environmental crisis in the traditional economic development policy frame led to a gender and spatially-based spread of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame in the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo. The senior male bureaucrats in the City of Kitchener and to a lesser extent in the City of Waterloo are more likely to use an entrepreneurial cities policy frame and to emphasize the relevance of gender relations in all municipal services as being part of a greater concern for diversity rather than a stand-alone equality issue. I find that female bureaucrats employ a traditional economic development policy frame more often than an entrepreneurial cities policy frame and tend not raise women's equality issues within the municipal bureaucracies, even if they are disappointed with the status quo. Despite the overshadowing of women-based concerns and gender issues by diversity concerns in the municipalities, the diversity strategy adopted by the City of Kitchener is suggested to enhance the resources for empowerment of culturally diverse immigrant women.

In chapter six the traditional economic development policy frame is found to be resilient in the City of Cambridge in the absence of an economic-environmental crisis. I suggest that the traditional economic development policy frames leaves very little discursive space to consider women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development and is coupled with a prevailing equal opportunist gender frame among the interviewees. Since the City of Cambridge's economic development department is staffed

entirely by women, this chapter suggests that the argument for the participation of diverse women in policy-making needs to differentiate between non-decision-making female bureaucrats and women's groups, feminist academics or women from the policy target population as constituting women's participation in the policy-making process and in theorizing GM.

The thesis concludes with several theoretical and policy implications for the treatment of women-based concerns and gender issues in a mid-sized, two-tiered local economic development policy community. The most important of these are that: GM and women's participation in local economic development policy-making must extend beyond municipal governments into the public-private sector; the federal and provincial governments play significant behind-the-scenes roles in setting socio-economic priorities and funding local initiatives; the dominant economic development policy frames are also significant factors in opening or closing discursive spaces for norm entrepreneurs to frame equality issues; and diversity strategies can empower ethnically-cultural diverse women.

CHAPTER 1:

Women-based Concerns and Gender Issues in Local Economic Development

Large, dynamic urban centres have a national importance that transcends their significance to a region or province, in the same way that the national railways were recognized in the 1800s as having a national significance. Our largest urban centres have a role to play in assuring Canada's future prosperity that transcends their municipal and provincial boundaries.

Compete to Win, Report of the Government of Canada's Competition Policy Review Panel, 2008.

*In 2004, as a result of extensive analysis and public consultation, the City of Kitchener embarked on a new direction in economic development with its Urban Investment Strategy. That strategy shifted the emphasis in economic development from purchasing, servicing and selling industrial land to stimulating new economic clusters primarily in the downtown beginning with the recruitment of two new university campuses (City of Kitchener, *Our Future is Now: Economic Development Strategy 2007-2010*, 2008:5).*

1. Introduction

In the late 1990s American-based sociologist Manuel Castells argued that globalization and neoliberalism led to the emergence of new social movements, including feminism, that are simultaneously international and local (*The Power of Identity* 1997). He suggests that the feminist movement's conceptualization of identity has globalized and localized in response to information-communication technology (ICT) developments. The creation of worldwide networks are argued to have facilitated a greater understanding of diverse women's experiences so that the third wave of feminism coincides with both a global feminist movement and local action based on multiple identities of which gender is a principal one among class, race, ethnicity, religion and people with disabilities. As a result, feminists have shifted their strategies from targeting nation-states to multi-scalar action as evidenced by the spread of gender mainstreaming

(GM) from nation-states at the Beijing *Platform for Action* (1995), to supra-national, regional and local adoptions of GM.

In the wake of more than thirty years of successive neoliberal governance in advanced industrialized countries, GM was introduced as an alternative to under-funded, under-staffed, and politically ailing national women's units at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (Baden and Goetz 1998; Mazey 2000; Burt and Hardman 2001; Verloo 2001). GM is an equality enhancing tool designed to allow policy-makers to ensure that their actions do not exacerbate existing inequalities between the sexes and amongst diverse women and men due to past discrimination or traditional gender roles. It aims to aid policy-makers in estimating the potential of proposed policies to rectify inequalities by empowering women and thereby, leading to improvements in gender equality (Moser 2005). For this reason, GM has been regarded as an "extraordinarily demanding concept, which requires the adoption of a gender perspective by all the central actors in the policy process – some of whom may have little experience or interest in gender issues" (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000:434). More than ten years later, feminist researchers are evaluating the success of GM policy adoptions, their implementation, and their resonance with feminist theories of gender equality (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Elgstrom 2000; Beveridge, Stephen, and Nott 2000; Rankin and Vickers 2001; Moser 2005; Moser and Moser 2005; Verloo 2005; Clisby 2005; Hankivsky 2005). GM and diversity lenses have only been devised in Canada's largest metropolitan centres (Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Ottawa). This thesis examines the prospects for extending GM to mid-sized cities where it is less-known but where policy developments affect nearly half of the Canadian population.

This chapter has three objectives. The first is to situate the twin goals of GM – women's empowerment and gender equality – into the current Canadian policy context. The second objective is to establish the importance of policy frames and gender equality frames for the acceptance of GM. Third, this chapter introduces Waterloo Regional Municipality as the comparative case study of three globally-aspiring, mid-sized cities operating under one regional government.

2. Equality and Empowerment in GM

Despite women's increased labour market participation and the achievement of gender parity in certain male-dominated professions over the last forty years, several realms of gender relations still require feminist action to empower diverse women. In particular, women's participation and representation in political and economic executive decision-making positions is still quite low relative to men. Women hold fewer decision-making roles than men as city councilors, senior public servants, and chief executive officers. In order to ensure that women's views and issues are considered in local public policy-making, diverse women need to be represented and included in the decision-making levels of city governments (City for All Women Initiative 2008). GM aims to empower women by encouraging diverse women's participation in policy-making. For women to participate equally in the deliberative process of policy-making alongside powerful politicians, bureaucrats, and private sector interests then, the GM process must allow for conditions and discursive spaces in which unequal gender relations do not absorb women's participation and struggles for equality into dominant positions (Verloo 2005). Second, women continue to be threatened by fear and domestic violence at rates greater than men. "Women are more likely than men to be injured, fear for their life and

be killed by their partner" (City for All Women Initiative 2008:9).¹ Even higher rates of spousal and family violence affect Aboriginal women than non-Aboriginal women; and senior women than senior men (City for All Women Initiative 2008). Women are also more often the targets of sexual harassment in workplaces; while both men and women may experience sexual discrimination when entering a male or female-dominated occupation. Sexual discrimination is compounded by other vulnerable statuses such as age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, or visible minority status.

The description of gender equality envisioned by the United Nations' Millennium Project goes beyond definitions based on equality of conditions to suggest equality in gender relations. According to the UN Millennium Project, gender equality is:

A world in which women and men work together as equal partners to build better lives for themselves and their families, ...where women and men share equally in the enjoyment of basic capabilities, economic assets, voice, and freedom from fear and violence... where women and men share the care of children, the elderly, and the sick; the responsibility of paid employment, and the joys of leisure (Taskforce on the Millennium Development Goal on Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women, UN Millennium Project 2005).

Although some Canadian women live in households that reflect equal gender relations as described by the UN's Millennium Project, for many women, achieving gender equality in the home, community, market and the state requires a daily struggle against existing power relations that favour men and disempower women according to the inter-generational reproduction of traditional gender roles. I feel that this definition best suits the goal of GM in public policies because it reflects equal gender relations in the everyday lives of women in households and communities. Synonymous with the *Federal Plan for Gender Equality* (Status of Women Canada 1995), by improving gender

¹ Based on statistics from: Status of Women Canada, *Assessing Gender Equality: Trends in the Situation of Women and Men in Canada*, August 2005. www.swc-cfc.gc.ca

equality, I am referring to the potential for GM to identify, assess, and reconcile those differences in inequality between men and women that result from the roles, expectations and the relationships that are historically, socially and perpetually ascribed to boys and girls, and men and women. Gender refers not to the categories of “men and women but the relations between them” so that the meanings of gender and gender relations are socially constructed by contexts (Commonwealth Secretariat 1995:31).

Canada, the European Union, the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, and their respective member countries, as well as many Southern countries and non-governmental development organizations have adopted GM approaches in response to the United Nations’ Fourth World Conference on Women (Verloo 2001; Walby 2003; Moser and Moser 2005).² As one of the signatories of the Beijing *Platform for Action*, the Liberal Government of Canada under Jean Chrétien agreed systematically to implement an analysis of the gendered impacts of proposed legislation and policies “where appropriate” (Status of Women Canada 1995). *The Federal Plan for Gender Equality* (1995) laid out Canada’s commitment to gender-based analysis (GBA, as it is commonly known in Canada) in all federal departments and agencies when the individual departments determined that such analyses were necessary. Therefore, GBA has been inconsistently applied throughout the federal government but with a measure of success in a number of

² In 2009, the Obama administration created a White House Council on Women and Girls to spread a gender mainstreaming policy throughout the federal government (The White House, Office of the Press Secretary March 11 2009 http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President-Obama-Announces-White-House-Council-on-Women-and-Girls). Following suit, the United States Agency for International Development began requiring gender analysis of its proposed assistance (Ellis, The Council on Women and Girls, December 1 2009 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2009/12/01/usaid-bolsters-gender-equality-policies>).

departments (see Status of Women Canada, 2002: *Canadian Experience in Gender Mainstreaming* for an overview of federal GBA implementation).³

Following the federal government's lead, the Federal, Provincial, and Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women "agreed 'on the importance of having gender-based analysis undertaken as an integral part of the policy process of government'" (Status of Women Canada 1995:16) and published their *Economic Gender Equality Indicators* to "enhance the understanding of women's economic realities" (Federal, Provincial, and Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women 1997:3). These realities include: 1) the struggle to achieve a work-life balance more often at the expense of paid work than men due to the persistence of traditional gender roles (Statistics Canada, Marshall 2006b); 2) spending less time in the workforce than men, and as such, having lower earnings and relying on more social services than men; and 3) a greater proportion of women living in poverty than men as women "are more likely to be single parents, work part-time, have lower salaries with fewer benefits and live longer than men" (City for All Women Initiative 2008:9). Difficulties with jobs searches and poverty rates are compounded for visible minorities, people with disabilities, Aboriginals, and newly immigrated men and women (City for All Women Initiative 2008). For diverse women then, flexible work hours, local and accessible child care provision and bus schedules have a greater impact on their ability to obtain paid employment (City for All Women Initiative 2008). The Federal, Provincial, and Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women recognized the importance of bridging the links between

³ The following federal departments have adopted and implemented GBA: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Health Canada, Human Resources Development Canada, the Department of Justice, the Department of Defense, Indian and Northern Affairs, the Solicitor General, Statistics Canada, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and the Canadian International Development Agency.

economic and social policy, suggesting that “gender equality, as well as social and economic development, requires that women and men have equal access to the paid labour market and also that caring work be valued, supported and more equitably shared” (Federal, Provincial, and Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women 1997:9).

The provincial and territorial governments’ experience with GM parallels the federal governments’ in that eleven out of thirteen provinces and territories have put gender and or gender and diversity-based-analysis policies in place,⁴ although in no cases is GBA legislated. Typically, the provincial Women’s Directorates, Status of Women Offices or Advisory Councils, play the same role as Status of Women Canada at the federal level in terms of providing training materials and support to other departments and agencies to incorporate a gender lens and implement GBA of specific policies, programs and services.

The Provinces of Quebec, Manitoba, and British Columbia are the furthest along in implementing GBA with the development of reports on the best practices and guides on how to conduct GM for their government departments and agencies. The Province of Quebec stands out in this regard with eleven departments undertaking GBA exercises and fifteen more policies and programs beginning GBA in 2008. At the other end of the spectrum, Nova Scotia and the Northwest Territories are only still investigating GBA while Nunavut continues to support the Qulliit Nunavut Status of Women’s Council and public awareness of women’s issues. In 2001, Rankin and Vickers reported that Alberta and Ontario had been the most resistant to adopting GBA. Since the provincial liberals took office in Ontario in 2003, Dalton McGuinty’s government targeted two areas for the

⁴ The Northwest Territories and Nunavut have not yet adopted a Gender-Based Analysis policy.

Women's Directorate in the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration to address: promoting women's economic independence and preventing violence against women. As a result, the Premier and the Minister Responsible for Women's Issues published a comprehensive *Domestic Violence Action Plan* in 2004, which provides resources and grants for community partnerships to prevent domestic violence. Under the economic independence goal, the Ontario Women's Directorate provides resources and grants to organizations for education and training, employment, entrepreneurship, and financial counseling.⁵ The provincial liberals did not, however, make a policy commitment to GM, although the Ontario Women's Directorate "reviews relevant proposals to Cabinet and Cabinet Committees" as well as leading "inter-ministerial committees on specific policy issues that affect women" (Canadian Heritage).⁶ Since GBA is not mandated by the federal or provincial governments, however, few departments have examined policy proposals with a gender lens with the exceptions of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour.

The Ontario Women's Directorate also published *Workplaces that Work* (The Federal/Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women 2003); a resource for employers to promote a "workplace culture" that attracts women.⁷ This document includes "A Framework for Assessing Your Workplace" (2003:15), with twenty questions that evaluate how the workplace employs women, involves women in decision-making processes, undermines stereotypes and provides harassment-free and

⁵ Ontario Women's Directorate <http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/owd/english/women/>

⁶ Canadian Heritage: "Human Rights Program" <http://www.pch.gc.ca/pgm/pdp-hrp/docs/cedaw-cedef7/on-eng.cfm> "Human Rights Program"

⁷ Federal/Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women, *Workplaces that Work* (2003) <http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/owd/english/resources/publications/workplaces/docs/fpt-workplaces.pdf>

work-family balance situations. The document emphasizes the bottom-line of women's full participation in the workforce as the objective rather than gender equality. Moreover, *Workplaces that Work* is merely a resource guide for interested employers – not provincial legislation.

Over the last decade, local women's groups worldwide have called on their respective city councils to adopt gender equality policies that recognize the diversity of women in their community and consider their full participation, inclusion, access, and equity in programs, services, and policies through GM tools. This movement is also supported by national and supra-national organizations such as Status of Women Canada, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions. GM policies at the city scale can fulfill Canada's obligation to conduct GM; offset the gendered impacts of the federal and provincial governments' downloading responsibilities and reducing social services to municipalities during the 1990s; and empower women in cities (The Federation of Canadian Municipalities and The City of Montreal 2004; City of Vancouver Women's Task Force, 2005; The Toronto Women's City Alliance 2008; The City for All Women Initiative and The City of Ottawa 2008).

In particular, GM economic development policies can help local policy-makers identify barriers to women's full participation in the labour market, thereby increasing overall levels of productivity, the tax base, women's health and the welfare of their families, while reducing social assistance dependency (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Rankin and Vickers 2001). Second, the inclusion of qualitative and quantitative gender-disaggregated data and diverse women in policy discussions can strengthen citizen engagement, local democracy and government accountability (Rankin and Vickers 2001).

Third, GM can reduce costly mistakes for cash-strapped cities by identifying potential gender impacts before policies are put into place. Lastly, GM at the local scale in Canada will not only improve our awareness of the impacts of local policy outcomes on gender equality and social justice; it will also make Canada more consistent in its approach to pursuing gender equality in international development by applying the same analytical rigor and standards to local development as is done for foreign aid requests through the Canadian International Development Agency.⁸

For their part, many city governments have adopted diversity, equity, inclusion and access policies that include women as a human rights protected group along with Aboriginals, visible minorities, persons with disabilities, members of the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual community, youth and seniors. Cities like Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver and Montreal have enacted or partnered with women's task forces or gender equality advisory committees to conduct research on women in the city and develop gender or equity lenses for policy and program development. The cities of Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal are leaders in undertaking pilot projects with their newly developed Equity Lenses, while the City of Vancouver has made little progress on implementing its' Gender Equality Task Forces' recommendations (City of Vancouver Gender Equality Task Force 2005; 2007).

The development of equity lenses in major cities reflects the movement towards a theory and practice of intersectionality in feminist theory (Talpade Mohanty 1988; Williams Crenshaw 1989; Hill Collins 1991). An intersectionality approach to achieving equality argues that various forms of identity – race, class, sexual orientation, religion, etc. – are considered in relation to gender identities and the specific social context so that

⁸ A similar point has also been made by economist Isabella Bakker in terms of gender budgeting (2006).

one identity is not presumed to be dominant a priori (McCall 2005, Siltanen and Doucet 2008). While most GM policy adoptions and frameworks include diversity analysis in gender impact assessments, intersectionality theorists feel that GM adds on multiple identities to the consideration of gender identities as first and foremost. In Canada, Olena Hankivsky (2005) argues that GM should give way to diversity mainstreaming “to better capture, articulate and make visible the relationship between simultaneously interlocking forms of oppressions that include but are not limited to gender” (Hankivsky 2005:979).

She writes:

If we take seriously the need to apply the insights of recent feminist theorizing, it becomes clear that there are in fact no real possibilities to adequately improve or expand the GM framework. GM is inherently limited and limiting because it always prioritizes gender as the axis of discrimination ... What is required is a broader approach to mainstreaming, one that is able to consistently and systematically reflect a deeper understanding of intersectionalities... Arguably, those who are interested in developing effective mainstreaming strategies for public policy can no longer be impervious to factors that are more important or compound experiences of gender. ...As a way to move beyond the current impasse in GM, I am proposing a diversity mainstreaming framework that draws on Iris Marion Young's notion of "gender as seriality" (1994) and Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw's work on intersectionalities (2000, 1991) (Hankivsky 2005:978-979).

I posit that while an analysis of various forms of oppression are necessary for effective GM and achieving gender equality, it is premature to replace women’s issues with cultural diversity issues for women’s empowerment. Unequal gender relations in homes, communities, markets and states exist cross-culturally and require the collective action of diverse women to achieve changes in public policies that will benefit all women. For example, Verloo (2005) concludes that moving beyond gender binaries to tackle intersections of oppressions through a “strategy of displacement” based on diversity politics is necessary for GM to reach its transformative potential. Diversity politics in practice, however, do not always lead to empowering diverse women as

Roggeband and Verloo's (2007) study of Dutch gender equality policy frames suggests. Roggeband and Verloo (2007) found that a shift from emphasizing gender equality and multiculturalism throughout the 1990s, to recognizing the value of diversity has not dismantled categorical binaries between "Dutch and 'others', between men and women, and between traditional (Muslim) and modern ('Western') cultures" (Roggeband and Verloo 2007:286). Rather, the effect of valuing diversity was to locate the problem of emancipation with the diverse population, in this case with Muslim women. In particular, the culture of the diverse group was problematized and juxtaposed to a liberated Dutch culture. Their study shows that a diversity approach to GM without engagement and empowerment of the target population can run counter to the goal of gender equality by focusing on the differences among diverse women. This is an example of how women-based feminist political action can build cross-cultural advocacy networks to include policy target populations in GM processes and policy discussions.

Another effect of prematurely displacing women-based issues is the practice of "writing women out" and "folding gender in" (Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2005; Jenson 2005). Alexandra Dobrowolsky and Jane Jenson argue that in Canada and the European Union, the intersectional approach has aided policy-makers in "writing women out" of social and economic policy discourses, and "folding gender" (Jenson 2008) and "children" in (Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2005). Jenson (2008) claims that a "social investment perspective" which emphasizes human capital investments in children for long-term economic inclusion, reduces attention to gender differences because girls do just as well, if not better than boys in education. Moreover, focusing on the "supply side" of labour markets overlooks the effects of "systemic and structural blockages to equal

opportunities” since “women’s inadequate preparation, education, or lack of ambition” are not responsible for gender inequalities (Jenson 2008:149). Finally, Jenson writes that an intersectional approach “blurs” the binary categories of men and women into “other disadvantaged groups” thus, losing sight of gender equality as a goal (2008:149).

It is my position then that diversity mainstreaming in the current policy context will overlook the salience of issues that affect all women, albeit differently. For example, living without fear of or actual violence, finding child care, balancing a work-life schedule, and having one’s voice heard in political and executive decision-making processes are women-based issues that cut across diversity, even if they are experienced differently. Second, women-based issues can be considered from a diversity perspective so that a concern over violence against women may lead to addressing domestic violence or it may lead to a discussion of how to eliminate the sex trade and trafficking of women and children depending on the policy context. Third, the divisive factors of a diversity strategy may debilitate feminist collective action to achieve gender equality as diversity strategies in practice lead more to prioritizing some identities over others; whereas a gender strategy can look at diverse women without losing focus of gender issues. While these points are still open to argument, what is clear about the gender and diversity debate is that local governments need to consider diverse women and gender relations in policy-making. This thesis aims to shed light on whether this is best done through a gender lens that includes diversity, or an equity lens that includes gender.

A range of gender lenses including a diversity lens are found among the policy community members in this thesis. A gender lens among policy-makers is defined as “a way of looking at the work we do so as to identify ways of supporting the well-being of

women and men (girls and boys); taking special care to ensure inclusion of the full diversity of women” (City for All Women Initiative 2008:7). Since the goal of GM is no less than to replace gender blindness among policy-makers with a gender lens so that “the gendered nature of assumptions, processes and outcomes” (Walby 2003:2) become visible in policy-making, the gender lenses and gender equality frames of the local economic development policy community are argued to be a major indicator of how women-based concerns and gender issues are treated by the policy community.

3. Policy Communities, Discourses, and Frames

This thesis presents policy and gender equality frame analysis of policy texts and interviews with the local policy community because GM is meant to be implemented by “the actors normally involved in policy-making” (Verloo 2005:351). A central tenet of the thesis is that local policy-makers will be more receptive to the idea of GM local economic development policies if the goals of women’s empowerment and gender equality are framed in a way that resonates with the goals of economic development. For this reason, the current priorities and goals in local economic development are analyzed using the concepts of policy frames. I suggest that a frame resonance between economic development and GM is more likely to happen if the dominant economic development policy frame can accommodate social issues, particularly those relating to the informal economy or the realm of unpaid work and how it affects labour market decisions. A second indicator of GM receptiveness in the literature is the policy-makers’ gender equality frames. Arguably, policy-makers who perceive systemic gender differences and inequality to be defining factors in the quality of life of diverse peoples will be more receptive to the idea of GM than policy-makers who feel that gender differences and

inequality do not affect outcomes in people's well-being. Therefore, the concept of frame analysis applies to gender equality frames as well as to assess the policy community's response to GM.

The policy community model is employed in a frame analysis of economic development because it includes the circular interactions of government actors, interest groups, social movement organizations, and issue networks or professional experts and interested parties (Bradford 1999). This description suits the local economic development policy-making process that includes private sector actors, societal interests, and bureaucracies, which actively engage in public discourse (Haddow 1999). Within a policy community, the ideas of professional experts such as the bureaucracy or an epistemic community – a group of professionals with specialized scientific or technical knowledge who provide value-based policy alternatives to the government – can be juxtaposed to the ideas of an interested public that organize based on a common interest, identity or citizenship (Haddow 1999). Haas (1992) defines an epistemic community as: "a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area . . .they have (1) a shared set of normative and principled beliefs . . . (2) shared causal beliefs, which are derived from their analysis of practices leading or contributing to a central set of problems in their domain . . .(3) shared notions of validity . . .(4) a common policy enterprise.' Here specific combinations of expertise and value commitment fuel new kinds of political interventions" (1992:3). Thus, epistemic communities, along with multi-scalar and multi-sectoral policy actors play a pivotal role in the creation of policy frames.

A policy frame links values, judgments and facts to produce a ““normative-prescriptive’ story that provides a sense of what the problem is and what should be done about it...[and they] ‘give coherence to the analysis of issues in a policy domain’” (Schon and Rein 1996:89 in Hajer and Laws 2006:257). Typically, policy frames define a problem including who is responsible for causing the problem and who is detrimentally affected by the problem; provide solutions that assign actors to particular roles in setting and achieving goals; and strategies or “calls for action” that designate “who should act and who is acted upon” to achieve the set goals (Verloo 2007:274; Snow and Benford 1992). Frames can be strategic or unintentional; and they “conceal as they reveal” by including some facts and values at the exclusion of others (Hajer and Laws 2006:257).

Identifying the dominant policy frames used by policy-makers is a pivotal factor in the adoption of any new idea according to the strategic framing thesis in social movement theory (Snow and Benford 1992). “Strategical framing is a dynamic concept that enables us to see how different actors adapt existing policy frames to pursue their prospective goals. Strategical framing is defined as attempting to construct a fit between existing frames, or networks of meaning, and the frames of a change agent” (Verloo 2005:358).

Frame “bridging,” or extending GM to match existing organizational goals, presents GM as a “harmonious” and less “threatening” policy tool to increase its acceptance among policy actors (Verloo 2005:359).

In the field of local economic development as it has been conceptualized since the 1970s, policy actors typically include government officials, municipal economic development departments, and their counterparts in the private sector: chief executive officers, developers, investors, and entrepreneurs (Swinburn, Goga, and Murphy 2006).

Economic development offices strategize and bolster local economic development by collaborating with local planning departments to zone, develop and service industrial land for new business development; representing business interests in infrastructure planning; providing information and services regarding permits, government regulations, taxation, exporting and starting new businesses; and conducting research on local economic activities. More generally, economic development refers to: 1) the efforts made by private actors, and non-government organizations to increase the attractiveness of their geographic area to external investment through infrastructure and capital projects (external investment attraction); as well as 2) efforts to support the productivity and competitiveness of existing firms (business retention); and 3) efforts that encourage indigenous economic growth (local entrepreneurship). These business attraction, retention, and creation activities constitute traditional economic development in this thesis.

The traditional economic development policy frame begins with the premise that developing vacant land for industrial growth and business development leads to an increase in a community's wealth and standard of living through the creation of jobs. Local governments are assigned the task of cooperating with local planning departments, private sector developers and entrepreneurs to turn vacant land into development sites for industrial growth according private sector demands. In traditional economic development, cities aim to increase their gross domestic product, value of exports, number of firms, job creation, labour force participation rates, employment rates,⁹ full-time employment rate, population growth, inflow of labour, number of building permits

⁹ Kotkin and Shires' (2005-2009) "Best Cities to do Business In" also focuses on employment growth and purchasing power. Online: <http://www.newgeography.com/category/story-topics/best-cities>

issued per year, office and industrial square footage, median household income, and housing starts, housing prices or units sold.¹⁰ At the same time, cities aim to decrease their unemployment rates and vacancy rates of industrial and office space. Thus, cities typically aim to offer abundant greenfields with accommodating infrastructure and transportation routes, low tax rates and development charges to private sector developers; copious factory and office space that is equally well-situated, and a skilled workforce. Attracting large scale manufacturers and big businesses that employ many people are often the targets of traditional economic development policies. The local workforce is viewed as both an economic asset and an input to accommodate large businesses, and as the beneficiaries of jobs created by large enterprises. The traditional economic development policy frame also includes attention to retaining existing businesses by local government acting as a representative for local entrepreneurs and businesses in inter-governmental relations.

Local economic development discourses have changed during the 1990s and into the first decade of 2000s as a result economic globalization. Under the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame, local economic development is still responsible for providing infrastructure and office space but there is also a new focus on building “prosperity” through physical, technological, cultural, and human capital investments. The entrepreneurial cities policy frame begins with the new economy discourse to define

¹⁰ Canada's Technology Triangle, Resource Library: Economic Data. Online: http://www.techtriangle.com/prosperity_indicators_resources; The City of Kitchener, “Under Development” Online: http://www.kitchener.ca/working_kitchener/pdf_files/under_development.pdf; The City of Cambridge, “2007 Economic Analysis Update” Online: <http://www.cambridge.ca/relatedDocs/2007%20Economic%20Analysis.pdf>; The City of Waterloo, Economic Development Division, “Investment Prospectus” http://www.city.waterloo.on.ca/Portals/57ad7180-c5e7-49f5-b282-c6475cdb7ee7/CS_EDM_documents/Invest_Per09.pdf; Tal, “Canadian Cities: An economic snapshot” *Metro Monitor*, CIBC World Markets Inc, June 24, 2009. http://research.cibcwm.com/economic_public/download/metro_monitor.pdf).

a range of problems stemming from global economic integration that limit the effectiveness of conducting traditional economic development. According to this discourse, large scale manufacturing is increasingly moving off-shore to countries where labour is cheaper, thereby having a major impact on cities that relied on industrial manufacturing to support their local economies. At the same time, developments in ICTs are shifting local economies toward knowledge intensive and service based industries, which demand highly skilled workers, and which drive innovation and productivity growth in both new industries as well as turning traditional manufacturing into advanced manufacturing. The structure of employment patterns and labour markets are also shifting to reflect increased flexibility demanded by firms to be competitive in globalized markets, (Reich 1991; Jenson, Mahon and Bienefeld 1993; Carnoy and Castells 1996; Castells 1996; Sassen 2000; Courchene 2001; Hale 2002). Finally, in Canada, an aging population is leading to a shortage of skilled workers so that Canada may be short of one million workers by 2020, and will not have the tax base to sustain public expenditures (Hale 2002). These trends describe the new economic order – the problem definition of a new entrepreneurial cities policy frame.

The proposed solutions to the new economic order include a rising importance of sub-national, urban or regional entities (known as the new city-regionalism theory) that are arguably more innovative and productive in the global economy as a result of the “advantages of proximity” in contrast to the nation-based Fordist economy (Glaeser 2007:16; Porter 1990; Sassen 1994; Saxenian 1994; Voyer 1998). The argument for regionally-driven economies is that researchers, producers, suppliers, and customers build trustful, dynamic relationships within regional economies that increase efficiency through

face-to-face interactions, and then engage in the processes of international trade and import-replacing that leads to economic growth and the creation of wealth. Whereas the nation-state was the main initiator of international trade under the Fordist economy, cities in the new economy exercise their “competitive advantage” (Porter 1990) by marketing and supporting local entrepreneurs and local networks of firms, customers, and suppliers within their geographic borders under dismantled or devolved international trade policies. Thus, the assignment of job creators under the new entrepreneurialism policy frame shifts from large scale manufacturing companies to local entrepreneurs.

Similarly, Saskia Sassen (2000) suggests that the advantages of spatial proximity apply not only to industrial sectors but that economies of agglomeration, production-supplier networks, and economic efficiencies arising from face-to-face interactions among firms have led to the emergence of “global cities” such as New York, London, and Tokyo in business service industries. Therefore, a centripetal trend of localization occurs in tandem and paradoxically to globalization so that the spatial patterns of markets in the new economy take on a renewed importance in both global and local dimensions that create new challenges and arguably lead to more demanding roles for local governments (Andrew 1994; Roy 1998). Local governments must simultaneously engage with multi-scalar governance structures as the federal government still plays a large role in “maintaining fiscal sustainability,” funding basic and applied research and public services, and investing in “physical, technological and social infrastructures” to promote the “conditions of competitiveness” (Hale 2002:24).

For example, the second solution to the new economy problem is for multi-scalar governance to foster human capital gains through post-secondary education of the

Canadian population and immigration of skilled workers in order to produce an adaptable, flexible, and highly skilled workforce in order to overcome the pending workforce shortage (Hale 2002). There are two competing theories on how cities can attract highly skilled workers to compete in the knowledge economy that serve as actions strategies in the entrepreneurial cities policy frame. Richard Florida's creative class theory suggests that cities invest in downtown revitalization projects and cultural amenities to create cool urban spaces with tantalizing experiences in order to attract the "creative class" – a group of young, persnickety, post-secondary graduates who are arguably responsible for leading innovation and knowledge industries. In contrast, Joel Kotkin's "sacred places" theory suggests that cities invest in family-friendly, well-planned suburbs to attract skilled workers. In particular, he suggests "village-like suburbs that combine parks, restaurants and some retail within walking distance of single family homes" (Fischer, June 18 2006). The sacred places action strategy, however, is not discussed among the local economic development policy community in this thesis, likely due to the fact that it concentrates on residential development and small business operations. Therefore, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame is composed of the new economic order discourse as the problem definition, fostering innovation and productivity through human capital investments, entrepreneurship and immigrant inclusion as the solution, and the industry clusters discourse and creative cities discourse as action strategies.

For some, however, local economic development cannot be planned or government-led. According to this view, economic development is an organic, endogenous process of entrepreneurialism in a free market society. While recognizing the important role that

entrepreneurs play in local economic development, entrepreneurialism is not the only type of action that constitutes local economic development, nor do entrepreneurs act without the assistance of government policies that target, subsidize, and bailout companies and entire industries. Entrepreneurs do not work in isolation from public sector politicians and bureaucrats. They gain the ear of government through advisory councils and public-private functions that strategize and celebrate local economic development.

While many of the traditional economic development objectives are still relevant to entrepreneurial city strategies, (gross domestic product, value of exports, number of firms, labour force participation rates, employment rates, population growth, inflow of labour, number of building permits issued per year, office and industrial square footage, infrastructure, median household income, and housing starts, housing prices or units sold), new indicators of local economic prosperity are added with the advent of the industry clusters and creative cities action strategies. For example, investments in research and development, and patents and license agreements are added to the list of traditional economic development indicators (Communitech, Waterloo Region 2006).¹¹ The Conference Board of Canada and the Toronto Board of Trade's (2009) "Scorecard on Prosperity" separates high technology employment share and knowledge employment share, and adds disposable income per capita and disposable income growth. The Prosperity Council of Waterloo Region adopts Richard Florida's "Creativity Index," which includes immigration, arts and culture, high technology employment, and the proportion of the population eighteen years and older with a bachelor's degree. A

¹¹ Communitech, State of the Industry Report 2006, Online:
<http://www.techtriangle.com/include/get.php?nodeid=235>

relatively short distance from home to work is also considered to be an indicator of quality of life and a measure to attract skilled workers. Finally, popular magazines, such as *The Economist*, and *Monocle* rank cities according to thirty “livability” factors in the areas of: “stability, health care, culture and environment, education, and infrastructure.”

¹² The inclusion of livability factors in economic analysis points to a long-standing practice of “the integration of economic and social policies so that they become mutually reinforcing [which] has been a fundamental element of neoliberal policy discourse since the report of the Macdonald Royal Commission in the mid-1980s” (Hale 2002:31).

In fact this thesis draws a close association between the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and the rise in local public-private partnerships based on neoliberal ideologies manifested in new public management (NPM) tactics. The early neoliberal shift (1970s – 1980s) was marked by deregulating markets, downsizing governments, and devolving policy responsibilities to sub-national entities. The two primary federal political parties focused on trade liberalization to enhance global competitiveness and reductions in the size and spending of governments through cutbacks and the privatization of public services to reduce the national deficit and balance annual budgets (Hale 2002). In the effort to make governments smaller and to increase the efficiency of public service delivery, NPM techniques suggest that governments look for private sector partners to develop and deliver formerly public services. Therefore, the neoliberal paradigm is manifested in institutional transfers of responsibility from the state to local governments, as well as “offloading or lateral loading of some policy responsibility... toward unelected governance bodies” (Bashevkin 2006:15). The privatization of public services places the

¹² The Economist, “Livability Ranking” April 28 2008. Online:
http://www.economist.com/markets/rankings/displaystory.cfm?STORY_ID=11116839

development and provision of public goods into the hands of specific groups of individuals who are not accountable to the public or the democratic process. Moreover, Canadian political scientist Sylvia Bashevkin (2006) warns that under NPM strategies,

The criteria used to evaluate the contributions of voluntary groups are grounded primarily in cost and efficiency considerations. Local organizations that began as advocacy-based social movements tend, as part of broader NPM directions, to take on the role of service providers, perhaps in partnership with governments or their agencies. The same campaigners who formerly operated as protesters, advocates, and lobbyists are then expected to carry out activities once performed by the state, and forfeit their role as activists for social change (Bashevkin 2006:15).

This thesis depicts a different picture of public-private partnerships in local economic development than Bashevkin's description. Rather than public "off-loading" responsibilities to the private sector, the cases in Waterloo Region suggest that the private sector is the initiator of new policy frames and action strategies in local economic development. Although it is likely that their motivation and initiation are a result of their dissatisfaction with the public sectors' strategic planning – or lack thereof – which in turn may be a result of funding cutbacks under the early neoliberal paradigm.

The main concern with policies made by governments and public-private partnerships under the pressures of the new economic order is that the practice of citizenship will deteriorate to be synonymous with market values. For example, Bashevkin (2006) writes that under globalization:

Cities would likely compete against one another for highly mobile sources of capital investment. In turn, competition among localities would increase the weight attached to market-based norms, including efficiency and productivity; it would also diminish the weight of political considerations, including justice, equality, and citizen participation. Cohesion among citizens would decline with rising socio-economic polarization and a generalized pattern of identity fragmentation (Bashevkin 2006:17).

Moreover, both Bashevkin (2006) and Peck (2005) critique Richard Florida's popular creative class theory for ignoring the social and political functions of cities as the location in which people secure basic human rights, fight for social justice, and exercise political rights. Reflecting the shift to NPM models, Peck argues that under the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame "grassroots initiatives" and "community-oriented efforts" are proposed to take the place of state-funded, entitlement-based anti-poverty and social inclusion programs (Peck forthcoming:14). Thus, the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame as well as environmental degradation due to development are problematized in a third political economy-based policy frame of sustainable development. The sustainable development or sustainability policy frame is composed of socio-economic and environmental action strategies.

The socio-economic action strategy in the sustainable development policy frame reaches back to the community development approach that has a long-standing tradition of merging, empowerment, inclusion, the elimination of poverty, and social justice goals since the urban social movements of the 1960s. In response to globalization, however, the new community development approach emphasizes local and organic markets for improving overall health benefits as well as asserting local autonomy in plans for economic sustainability. Hence, community economic development aims to help people build locally-based, affordable and sustainable food supplies and housing. The new community development approach also retains its primary focus on empowering people to participate in the development and attainment of (locally produced) resources with the ultimate goal of poverty elimination. This approach starts with improving people's access to resources; namely, fulfilling paid employment by providing access to affordable and

safe public transportation, child care, health care, and credit. Literacy rates, poverty rates, life expectancy, leisure time, environmental quality, freedom, and other social justice measures are used to determine local economic development according to the community economic development approach. The International Labour Organization's definition of local economic development reflects the sustainability policy frame:

...[L]ocal means: based on an optimal use of endogenous potential that includes local resources and local capacities. Local refers to one or more sub-national entities of analysis and interventions, which have a series of political, economic and social interests and skills in common. Local is not restricted to the municipal level but is a territorial approach based on economic links, social inter-relationships, administrative references and public institutions and cultural identity. In other words, local does not only refer to a smaller unit but is linked to the regional, national and international level.

Economic refers to actions like: the identification of business opportunities, support of entrepreneurial initiatives and facilitation of access to the market. And development should be understood with regard to the objective of sustainability and an improved quality of life through job and income generation (International Labour Organization August 2000:5 emphasis in original).

The community economic development approach evolved outside of municipal bureaucracies by resource-poor, community development agencies and non-government organizations. Unlike urban planners, the social workers and community activists leading the community economic development approach are rarely involved in partnerships with business elites, developers and the economic development officers who plan and implement traditional and entrepreneurial city strategies. Yet, the recognition that this bridge needs to be built between social and economic issues is increasingly seen as cities aim to engage citizens in participatory and inclusive local democracies. Moreover, NPM tactics blur the line between public-private partnerships for entrepreneurial city purposes and community-based partnerships for the purposes of achieving sustainable development.

The second component of the sustainability policy frame is linked to the environmental movement and has had a much greater impact in mainstream economic development. Over the last two decades environmental sustainability has been incorporated into economic development goals through urban planning and growth management strategies. The idea of sustainable cities has had considerable success in bridging the gap between environmental and economic issues so that the two concerns have melded to the point that local economic development policy-makers cannot consider new plans or strategies without analyzing their impacts on the environment. Growth management strategies, urban renewal strategies, brownfield re-development, city gardens, green roofs, and bicycle trails, are all examples of how environmental concerns have affected local economic development in urban areas, and as a result, urban planners and economic development officers work closely together at the municipal and regional levels.

The concept of policy frames is not limited to economic development, however. Frames can be employed for multiple policy fields including perspectives on gender inequality. Gender equality frames are no different than policy frames as they also consist of the “different and sometimes competing ideas about what the problem is, about who is responsible for the problem, about what are the causes and effects, and about what would be a solution” (Verloo 2004:3). Three gender equality frames were represented among the policy community actors who participated in interviews for this thesis: norm entrepreneurs, diversity supporters, and equal opportunists. The term “norm entrepreneurs” is borrowed from Elgstrom’s (2000) study of GM policy adoptions in the European Union to suggest that the GM advocates in her study presented alternatives,

bargained, negotiated and strategically framed women-based issues and GM in light of the status quo. Norm entrepreneurs in this thesis were the most vocal and radical feminist interviewees among the interview sample who pushed the limits of the policy community's political culture and institutionalized practices where gender issues are concerned. Norm entrepreneurs feel that systemic gender-based discrimination permeates all of society's organizations, structures, and institutions, and that individual empowerment and changes to the organizing structures of society are essential to changing unequal gender relations. They also use a gender lens in their discussions on the roles of women and gender issues in their organizations, and stress the utility of gender-disaggregated data and GBA in local economic development policy-making.

Diversity supporters and equal opportunists both hold liberal views of feminism, meaning they believe that systemic gender-based discrimination has been eliminated from the organizations, institutions and structures of society so that equality of conditions exist for men and women. Therefore, gender differences are seen as the results of individual preference. The difference between diversity supporters and equal opportunists is that diversity supporters emphasize efforts to combat systemic discrimination based on other identities, particularly, race, ethnicity, and disabilities, and include women and gender issues as legitimate policy discussions only within the context of broader concerns for diversity. Equal opportunists do not associate women-based concerns and gender issues with other aspects of identity and discrimination. Rather, the equal opportunist gender frame is composed of those policy actors who either think that economic development is inherently gender neutral; that gender-based discrimination has been eliminated in contemporary Canadian society; or have never considered gender issues

before. In all cases, gender inequality is not problematized in policy-making. In addition, five interviewees were coded as having an “unknown” gender lens because they did not reveal any views on gender issues or women’s positions in society. These interviewees are also categorized as equal opportunists in their gender frame given the reasonable assumption that in the absence of either pro- or anti-feminist statements, they would agree with a prevailing liberal feminist view of equality of opportunity in Canadian society.

An interesting finding in the thesis is that policy actors who are categorized as norm entrepreneurs in their gender equality frames consistently employ an entrepreneurial cities policy frame; while those who are categorized as equal opportunists are more apt to use the traditional economic development policy frame. Additionally, all but one of the norm entrepreneurs are members of public-private partnerships. For theorizing GM policy adoptions, however, this study finds that the dominant economic development policy frame is a stronger indicator of the policy actors’ receptiveness to GM than their gender equality frame or gender.

4. The Selection of Waterloo Regional Municipality as the Comparative Case Study

While most studies of the treatment of women-based issues and gender concerns in local policy-making focus on very large cities, Waterloo Regional Municipality provides a relevant and interesting mid-sized urban centre for a comparative case study focusing on local economic development. Not only is Waterloo Region located in the fastest growing region of Canada and a major destination location for new immigrants to Canada

– an area known as the Greater Golden Horseshoe¹³ – it has a number of paradoxes within one geographic area that make it a compelling case study. Composed of three neighbouring but culturally different municipalities under a provincially imposed regional government, Waterloo Region allows for an analysis of policy-making in four comparative cases situated under one regional authority. Secondly, Waterloo Region's associative forms of governance resulting from regional collaboration in economic development have already captured the attention of other researchers (Andrew, Houle, and Theriault 1993; Roy 1998; Bradford 2003; Leibovitz 2003; Bramwell, Nelles and Wolfe 2004) who provide an opportunity to compare women's participation in policy-making and the treatment of women and gender issues in public-private partnerships and municipal bureaucracies. Moreover, each of the municipal economic development departments differ in size, resources, and gender composition, which affects the treatment of women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development policy-making. Third, the area is also appealing for empowerment studies that focus on the availability of economic resources as the region transitions from a traditionally strong manufacturing base to an advanced manufacturing, and knowledge and services-based economy. This industrial shift is most acutely witnessed by the closing of textile and automotive-related manufacturing in the City of Kitchener and the growth of a thriving high technology sector in the City of Waterloo.

In summary, four positions are maintained throughout the thesis. The first is that the socio-economic functions of cities are increasingly important for women's opportunities

¹³ The Greater Golden Horseshoe is home to one-quarter of all of Canada's population and two-thirds of Ontario's population (Statistics Canada 2006a). It also accounted for nearly 40 percent of Canada's population growth between 2001 and 2005 largely due to the arrival of new immigrants (Statistics Canada 2006a).

for empowerment in light of federal policy devolutions to local scales. Second, the intersection of multiple identities does not erase the necessity of “women” as one of those identities, and therefore, a categorical emphasis on both “women” and “diversity” is necessary for GM. Third, local policy-makers influence local labour market outcomes through economic development policies. Finally, the dominant economic development policy frames shape the discursive spaces in which diverse women and gender issues are considered in local economic development policy-making. The next chapter examines the dominant action strategies of industry clusters and creative cities in the entrepreneurial cities policy frame for their capacity to accommodate women-based concerns and gender issues.

CHAPTER 2: The Discursive Spaces for Women and Gender in Dominant and Alternative Local Economic Development Policy Frames

1. Introduction

This chapter examines the dominant economic development policy frames found among the local economic development policy community in light of the argument that policy-makers are more likely to consider women-based concerns and gender issues if women's empowerment and gender equality can be framed to resonate with the goals of economic development, and that GM advocates are more likely to persuade policy-makers to adopt GM if they can strategically frame it to resonate with a dominant policy frame (Snow and Benford 1992; Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Verloo 2001). It argues that: 1) local economic development is not a gender neutral policy field, meaning that the policy frames, discourses and strategies are socially and locally constructed with gender implications; 2) different economic development policy frames, discourses, strategies, and institutional frameworks either open or close discursive spaces to consider gender and diversity issues depending on how they combine social with economic issues; and 3) dominant policy frames influence the institutional arrangements of policy-making and implementation bodies (i.e. public-private partnerships, municipal governments, community economic development corporations, etc.), which in of themselves have various gender hierarchies.

The chapter begins by presenting the dominant new city-regionalism thesis and its accompanying entrepreneurial cities policy frame including industry clusters (Porter 1990) and creative cities (Florida 2002) discourses and strategies and their implications for considering women's empowerment and gender relations in local economic

development policy-making. It then looks at studies which demonstrate how women and diversity advocates in Canada have strategically framed gender and diversity in entrepreneurial cities terms and according to the local political culture in order to get social sustainability issues onto urban agendas. Finally, this chapter ends by analyzing the potential for gender and diversity advocates to participate equally with economic development elites in NPM forms of governance that are encouraged by the entrepreneurial cities policy frame.

2. New City-Regionalism and Entrepreneurial City Strategies

New city-regionalism suggests that the processes of globalization and state restructuring have reduced the role of the national state in policy-making and consequently its central importance to policy studies. In this context, cities take on an increasingly important role in national economies as the “engines of growth” because they are responsible for providing the services that mobile capital investments look for: an educated workforce; accommodating and current infrastructure; and providing spaces and buildings for strategic economic advantage (Andrew, Graham and Phillips 1994; Swyngedouw 1997; Sassen 2000; Wolfson and Frisken 2000; MacLeod 2001; Brenner 2002;). Wolfson and Frisken (2000) summarize why the city-regionalism view favours the local scale over the national:

[U]rban areas are the most progressive and innovative sectors of society because their spatial concentration of large groups of people allows for a high degree of personal interaction, thereby facilitating both invention and entrepreneurship (Jacobs, 1984). While urban regions have been gaining importance, the argument continues, nation states have been losing the capacity to manage their own economies for a number of reasons, including the increased mobility of international capital leading to increased international competition for investment; the strains on national budgets resulting from rising debt and falling

tax revenues; and the loss of national autonomy implicit in free-trade agreements....(Wolfson and Frisken 2000:363-364).

New city-regionalism is supported by and reflected in the Canadian federal government's shift from nationally-based industrial policies in the 1970s, to regionally centered innovation policies in the 1980s and 1990s (Wolfe 1994) and the 'innovation and inclusion' agenda of the late 1990s (Hale 2002). According to Wolfe, this shift came when industrial policy researchers identified the Schumpeterian argument for government-supported research and development policy to realize the social benefits of innovation. At the same time, they realized that Canada's weaknesses in creating effective industrial policies; a dispersed federal system and a weak bureaucratic state are the same attributes that make it suitable for regional innovation systems (Wolfe 1994). Moreover, the ineffectiveness of Canadian industrial policy means that local regions, and particularly, local governance structures, take on a greater role in economic policy-making as industry clusters and regional innovation systems theories emphasize "geographically based networks of firms and knowledge-creating forces" (1994: 251). Thus, "local communities" can "influence the trajectory of growth for a specific regional or local economy ...by direct intervention" as seen in examples of grassroots initiatives in Cleveland, Austin, and Silicon Valley. These initiatives emphasize the "strong, responsive relationships between the economy and community that afford both companies and the community a sustained advantage. These relationships are mediated by key actors and organizations who bring the respective economic, social and civic interests in the community together to collaborate on strategies for the community (Wolfe 1994:261-262).

In order for cities to fulfill their new “special role …functioning as ‘growth engines’” (Dannestam 2008:360), however, urban areas often adopt entrepreneurial city strategies that include: “urban redevelopment and place marketing” in inter-urban competition for investment; collaborating with the private sector in policy-making and implementation; and a “strong entrepreneurial discourse” (Dannestam 2008:358; Jessop and Sum 2000; Peck 2005; Harvey 1989). The new city-regionalism theory leads to an endorsement of Michael Porter’s competitive advantage and Richard Florida’s creative class theses.

Why should cities and regions develop industry clusters?” According to Michael Porter (1990), globalization and the advent of the knowledge economy have decreased the importance of traditional factors of production (“land, labour, natural resources, and capital” [11]) associated with the theory of comparative advantage that has guided national economies throughout the 20th century. Porter argues that globalization and developments in ICTs have changed the market-driven rules of competitiveness from resource-based competition to productivity-based competition among firms that compete on a global scale (Porter 1998). A greater emphasis on product quality and innovation is required to win over global markets once globalization and ICTs allowed firms to easily locate at the point of lowest labour costs. Therefore, rather than compete based on lowest input costs, firms in advanced industrialized states increase their consumer base through innovation and product quality improvements. An increased demand for highly skilled workers to be innovative and creative is inherent in the new competitiveness based on productivity gains and innovation to compete in global markets.

An industry cluster is defined as:

[A] geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, including product producers, service providers, suppliers, universities, and trade associations. Clusters arise out of the linkages or externalities that span across industries in a particular location (The Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity, 2002:50).

Industry clusters also produce quasi-public goods such as knowledge and information, trust among firms and between firms and regional institutions, a locally focused and mobile labour pool, and a stimulus for public investment in supporting institutions and infrastructure. These outcomes are conceptualized in the notion of regional innovation systems. Regional innovation systems focus on the institutions and relationships that allow innovation as a social and geographical learning process to occur through the sharing of tacit knowledge on a day-to-day basis, commonly through face-to-face interactions, and through localized language and codes of communication. Regional governing and social and business institutions that set the parameters of the social process of learning and sharing knowledge are key analytical factors of regional innovation systems (Innovation Systems Research Network: no date available:3).

The status and success of industry clusters are commonly measured according to the components existing within the cluster. Typically, these are: the existence of champions; entrepreneurship; availability of financing; information networks; education and research and development institutions; and regional strengths including the extent to which the community has shared norms and values (Porter 1990; Innovation Systems Research Network, no date available); to which the recognition of potential and staying power can be added (Voyer, 1998).

According to Porter, states play a critical role in enabling industry clusters by “creating advanced factors [of production meaning the human, physical, knowledge, and

capital resources of a nation, as well as a broad definition of infrastructure including health care, “the housing stock and cultural institutions, which affect the quality of life and the attractiveness of a nation as a place to live and work” (Porter 1990:75), encouraging domestic rivalry, shaping national priorities, and influencing demand sophistication” (Porter 1990:681-682). Porter suggests that these are the factors that lead firms to innovate and innovation is viewed as the key to increasing a firm’s productivity, global success, and thus, the living standards of a nation’s citizens. In contrast, Porter feels that states should restrain from industrial and macroeconomic policies that “actually hurt a nation’s firms in the long run (for example, subsidies, domestic mergers, supporting high levels of cooperation, providing guaranteed government demand, and artificial devaluation of the currency)” (1990:681). Therefore, social capital among firms and innovation are two central components of the industry clusters strategy.

Social capital¹⁴ is seen as the key ingredient that turns a geographical concentration of industry related firms into a successful industry cluster as “a new breed of civic entrepreneurs, individuals who lay down the basis for social capital by finding the opportunities for individuals to work together on projects to promote the community’s economic prospects” collaborate between the business and “civic communities” (Wolfe 2002: 262). Rather than a strong neoliberal approach, however, Wolfe’s emphasis on establishing social capital in business-community partnerships can lead to a more inclusive, community-based economic development approach to cluster development in Ontario. The Innovation Systems Research Network, a publicly and privately funded

¹⁴ “Social capital refers to features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and trust, that facilitate co-ordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital and is coming to be seen as a vital ingredient in ED around the world” (Putnam 1993:38).

research consortium based at the University of Toronto was established to study “the process of cluster development [that] is embedded within a complex set of economic, social, and institutional relationships at both the regional and national levels” (Wolfe 2002:151). The Innovation Systems Research Network produced studies on the local relationships that create social or civic capital among businesses, universities, governments, and non-profit sectors in regional systems of innovation in Waterloo Region (Bramwell, Nelles, and Wolfe 2004; Nelles 2005; also see earlier studies by Andrew 1993; 1994; and Leibovitz 2003).

While social capital links social and economic issues to some extent, these authors point to the difficulty for associative forms of governance to overcome the political divisions between the traditional influential actors in local economic development who are “individuals and groups interested in the physical development of land and the built environment – real estate interests, developers, commercial interests, locality-specific industrial interests – what James Lorimer (1972:12) has called the ‘urban property industry’” (Andrew 1994:99); and social interest groups. The elites lead economic development because of the city’s central role in urban planning and providing infrastructure (Andrew 1994). Reflecting on the CTT, Caroline Andrew suggests that Canadian cities are shifting from their traditional central role in infrastructure planning and land development to “pursue new activities in the social policy area” as a result of federal and provincial policy devolutions (1994:94). The dilemma for local economic development policy actors then is to include social actors such as labour interests and social planning councils, which are traditionally, viewed as social policy actors into the economic development policy-making process. Neil Bradford’s (2003) research on

“community-based innovation” in “learning communities” provides a few examples of how labour interests and social planning councils are included in locally-based multi-sector partnerships.

The second focus of industry clusters and regional innovation systems is the argument that innovation is the key to competitive industries. The focus on innovation emphasizes the importance of attaining a highly skilled workforce to be successful in the global economy.¹⁵ Therefore, policy-makers who adopt the industry cluster approach to economic growth also concentrate on developing a highly skilled workforce (Courchene, 2001). According to economist Edward L. Glaeser (2007), economic studies have shown a “robust correlation between urban success and a skilled population,” (31), thus supporting a human capital based theory of urban growth. This means that since people are highly mobile across urban boundaries, city governments can best ensure long term economic success by attracting highly skilled workers. Economists differ, however, on how to do this (Glaeser 2007:31).

For urban economist, Richard Florida (2002), whose creative class theory has won over thousands of city politicians throughout the world (Peck 2005), cool downtowns attract the essential, highly skilled, mobile twenty-somethings who hold the key to technological innovation, and thus enhanced productivity, with their talent. Richard Florida’s well versed creative class thesis extends the increased mobility of capital investment postulate under globalization to the labour market arguing that highly skilled workers who are the brains or the “talent” that drive economic innovation, are not

¹⁵ See Michael R. Smith (2001) “Technology change, the demand for skills and the adequacy of their supply” *Canadian Public Policy*. 27(1):1-22 for a critique of the claims that: 1) changes in technology lead to the demand for more skilled workers; and 2) a skills bias causes greater earnings inequalities among the workforce.

only highly mobile inputs of economic growth themselves but they are finicky, unattached, and well-off, twenty and thirty-somethings who prefer to live in artistic, aesthetic, adventurous and accepting cities. According to Florida, “creative people chose regions... They think of Silicon Valley versus Cambridge, Stockholm versus Vancouver, or Sydney versus Copenhagen” (Florida 2005b:10 in Peck forthcoming). The economic development strategy upshot of Florida’s creative class theory is a shift from competing with other urban areas on large ticket investment attractions such as stadiums and convention centres in the 1980s and 1990s, to a less costly urban renewal strategy emphasizing downtown aesthetics, local investment in arts and culture, the development of live-work buildings, and counter-culture friendly spaces to provide the creative class with entertaining, aesthetically pleasing, and culturally open and diverse city centres (Florida 2002; Peck 2005). Gertler, Florida, Gates, and Vinodrai (2002) have adapted Florida’s indices to apply to Canadian cities; and in Waterloo Region, a federation of private sector organizations and chief executive officers - the Prosperity Council – used Gertler et. al.’s work to evaluate the creativity and livability of Waterloo Region. Further cementing the entrepreneurial city strategies and epistemic community in Ontario is the enticement of Richard Florida to relocate from Pittsburgh to the University of Toronto.

The “regional economic strategy” often synonymous with industry clusters and creative cities is being pursued in Canada, the US, the UK, Europe and parts of Asia to “secure ‘regional competitiveness’ by developing the knowledge economy and improving the region’s image” (Boland 2007:1025), so that “the same names and ideas dominate the context of local economic development policy, to the extent that local economic development policy in Cardiff and Liverpool is effectively the same” (Boland

2007:1033). Boland (2007) points out that it is yet undetermined whether entrepreneurial city strategies have spread so quickly from neoliberal to social democratic states¹⁶ because of their proven effectiveness; because of its “minimally disruptive ‘soft neoliberal’ scalar fix (Peck forthcoming:14); or as he speculates because policy-makers seek out the “key theoreticians,” given their limited amount of time to stay current on academic research (Boland 2007). Thus, the important question for considering women and gender issues at the local scale is who has the power to define urban priorities, and who wins and loses according to the problem definitions and solutions in municipal, regional, and associative forms of governance?

3. The Sustainability Policy Frame: A Political Economy Approach

In spite of the popularity of the new city-regionalism theory and entrepreneurial cities policy frame, the political economy approach to theorizing cities and economic development discourses and strategies is critical of the omission of the role of the informal economy (often referred to as social reproduction) in local labour markets and economic development policies, the tendency to downplay of the role of the state in a multi-scalar policy process, and the neutral stance on power differences among multi-sector actors.

The lack of gender and diversity representation in the “urban property industry” (or the economic development) policy community underscores how the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and its ensuing economic development strategies are not “neutral” or “apolitical” (Jessop 1998; 2004; Dannestam 2008:362). Rather, “the entrepreneurial city

¹⁶ See Tove Dannestam’s (2008) article on the adoption of entrepreneurial city strategies in Malmö Sweden. “Rethinking Local Politics: Towards a Cultural Political Economy of Entrepreneurial Cities” *Space and Polity* (12)3:353-372.

or region has been constructed through the intersection of diverse economic, political and socio-cultural narratives which seek to give meaning to current problems by construing them in terms of past failures and future possibilities" (Jessop 1998: 91). Thus, from a cultural political economy approach (Jessop 2004), entrepreneurial city politics represent a local economic development strategy that is indicative of the macro-level paradigm shift from Keynesian welfare states to neoliberal states. As part of this ideological and material shift, local actors transform themselves from sub-national units that exist to deliver federally and provincially devised social and economic policies to redistribute wealth and bring about social cohesion, to inter-urban competitors in the global economy whose "performance...is not only crucial for their own development, but also for economic success in a regional as well as national perspective" (Dannestam 2008:361).

By focusing on city-regions as "sites of exchange, innovation, development, and competition" the entrepreneurial city overlooks the important role of cities as the place of "struggles around social reproduction and political participation" because of the unequal distributions and provisions of capitalism (Ward and Jonas, 2004: 2121; Jonas and Ward 2002; MacKinnon, Cumbers, and Chapman 2002; Jarvis 2005; Bashevkin 2006; McCann 2007). Labour markets are socially, historically and locally constructed and include social reproduction and regulation of the informal economy in addition to production. Thus "extra-economic institutions, including the family, education, the state, and social divisions such as gender, ethnicity and 'race'" influence labour supply decisions more so than a "fictitious" price-wage equilibrium (Hanson and Pratt 1995; Peck 1996; Rutherford, Jessop and Peck 2008).

The “urban livability discourses...typified by Richard Florida’s work on the ‘creative class’” (McCann 2007:188-189) in particular, overlook the role of cities as “territories in which social reproduction — a process intimately tied to the notion of quality of life — takes place” (McCann 2007:189; MacLeod 2001; Brenner 2002). Krueger and Savage (2007) define social reproduction as strategies for conserving open-space, reducing commute times, delivering public transport, providing affordable housing, improving access to services (such as healthcare), and creating and preserving good wage-earning jobs for those not holding one of the city-region’s ‘signature’ jobs.” They “agree with Jonas and Ward’s claim (2004:1) that ‘[c]ity-regionalism is related in some ways to the problems of managing new geographies of uneven development, and where difficult ideas of “quality of life”, “sustainability” or more generally the livability of city-regions for all classes and interests (*not just elites*) come into play’ (emphasis ours)” (215). Ward and Jonas (2004) argue that quality of life is a neoliberal term for social reproduction that does not problematize the power relations of the “whole economy” (Jarvis 2005):

Contemporary policy discourses of ‘enhancing the quality of life’, ‘promoting livability’ or ‘managing the work-life balance’ may well capture the importance of this dimension of city-regionalism, but in our view these received concepts fail to deliver the intellectual power of the concept of social reproduction (see also Gough, 2002). This concept instead captures in a more integral sense some of the changes in the work and domestic spheres, highlighting the causal relationships between the workplace and the living space, and the role of urban politics in the distribution of the social product (Harvey 1985; Cox and Jonas 1993) (Jonas and Ward 2001:175).

McCann (2007) criticizes Florida’s creative class thesis for recognizing but not addressing increased economic inequality in the cities that have been the “creative epicenters of the US economy” (193). He quotes Florida as saying: ‘While there is no

magic bullet here, sooner or later some place will figure out how to more fully tap the creative talents of much broader segments of its people — and it will get a huge competitive edge as a result' (p. xvii; see also Florida, 2004)" (in McCann 2007:193). McCann states that Florida's emphasis on "some place": 1) "downplays the role of the national state in shaping future social and economic policy"; 2) connects livability primarily to city competitiveness rather than social reproduction; and 3) excludes the concerns of those "whose quality of life was undermined by the rise of the 1990s 'new economy'" (McCann 2007:193).

Likewise, Krueger and Savage (2007) aim to include an analysis of social reproduction in the sustainable development discourse which has primarily focused on environmental sustainability and in their words, "often amounts to little more than a spatial development strategy geared toward middle-class environmentalists or the aesthetic of some emergent 'creative class'" (216). Krueger and Savage argue that the dominant new economy discourse that focuses on high technology companies and attracting the creative class turns sustainable development and quality of life issues (such as green spaces, housing supply, work commutes, and urban cores) into commodities for the middle class, and in some cases pushes lower wage earners out of the city centres (Luke 2003; Walker 2003; While et. al. 2005; Krueger 2005). They suggest that a sustainable development approach that incorporates the realities of traditional gender roles in the informal economy would focus on "how people 'make a living' in the city-region, their efforts to sustain families and communities, and how these things impact environmental sustainability" (216).

McCann's (2007) case study of Austin during late 1990s when it was both the "poster child for the creative class argument" and adopting a smart growth strategy to curb urban sprawl, shows that it was simultaneously experiencing a "bifurcated urban social structure, increased upward pressure on house prices, related fears of gentrification, and concern about environmental degradation (McCann, 2003:165). These issues spurred policy responses and political struggles that questioned dominant definitions of the 'good life' and the 'good city'" (McCann 2007:190). "Frequently," writes McCann:

the struggle to stabilize a city-regional coherence revolves around fundamental — and often racially inflected — questions of social reproduction including wage inequality, increasing costs of housing, fears of displacement, the destruction of longstanding community structures, the character, purposes and class relationships underlying environmental policy, and the unequal provision of recreational opportunities (McCann 2007:195).

Baltimore (Walsh 2000 in Krueger and Savage 2007:218) Boston, and Austin all had a living wage coalition led by neighborhood associations and other activists mobilize during the late 1990s (McCann 2007), which suggests "the importance of emphasizing the sustainability of communities based on the ability of workers to support themselves and their families" (Krueger and Savage 2007:218).

A few examples of how entrepreneurial city strategies have gender and diversity impacts are documented by the Center on Policy Initiatives' (2000) research on the impact of San Diego's industry clusters, and the Silicon Valley Community Foundation's commissioned report, *Unfinished Business: Women in the Silicon Valley Economy* (2001). The Center on Policy Initiatives found that employees working within local government targeted industry clusters in San Diego earned higher wages, were higher educated and more likely to have health insurance, but were less likely to be unionized,

and less likely to be women or “non-Whites” than workers in non-targeted industry clusters and non-clustered industries. The *Women in the Silicon Valley Economy* report discovered that female-dominated occupations such as child-care workers, preschool teachers, receptionists and secretaries earned no more in the home of the epitome ICT industry cluster than the national average (Collaborative Economics 2001:4). In the ICT sector of Silicon Valley, women accounted for 51percent of semiconductor processors (with an annual salary of US\$28,000), and although women could earn up to US\$56,000 as database administrators without a college degree; they still held 61percent of the jobs in the six occupations with the greatest absolute job growth with earnings below US\$26,000 per year, and only 29 percent of jobs in the six occupations with the greatest absolute job growth with earnings above US\$53,000 per year (2001:23). Moreover, maintaining a work-life balance and the lack of available child care were cited by 63 percent of the women surveyed as impediments to their employment.

The description of the new worker model (Carnoy and Castells 1996) for the new economy may be telling as to why women do not fare any better in knowledge-based industry clusters or as part of the creative class than in traditional economies. Carnoy and Castells describe the new worker as: “A free-floating individual, connected online to a variety of task-performing organizations, ever-competing for resources and personal support, and assuming limited responsibilities towards people for a limited time” (1996:24). In short, the new worker is subject to many part time jobs, an ongoing job search and (re)training efforts, unpredictable contract work and periods of unemployment. Carnoy and Castells also argue that the new economy is leading to an erosion of the traditional breadwinner role due to women’s increasing participation in the

labour market, which they see as contributing to women's declining role as a "cushion for the labour market" in the "traditional family" structure, particularly with the increasing prevalence of lone-parent families across countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Many of these prepositions are problematic for women, however, especially for women who have young children. First, mothers require child care and health care which if not provided through a husbands' income necessitate a regular rather than an intermittent income. Second, contract work puts mothers at a greater disadvantage because they do not have as much time or opportunities as men, single women, or childless women for networking and job searching. The erosion of the traditional breadwinner role due to the new economy is also misleading. There is no evidence that the meaning and value of the breadwinner role is diminishing due to a change in patriarchal ideologies and practices; only that the breadwinner role is decreasing due to restructuring of the labour market. The increase in lone-parent families and the feminization of poverty may actually increase women's need to find a breadwinning husband to prevent or escape from poverty, thereby increasing her dependence. Finally, the intermittent work patterns of mothers and the sexual division of labour reduce the opportunity for women to fulfill breadwinner roles themselves, so that the new worker model may only benefit women so long as they are single and educated.

Anna Lee Saxenian's (1994; 1998) study of the inter and intra-firm variables leading to the success of Silicon Valley over Boston's Route 128 raises many concerns for women workers in the much desired ICT industry clusters. Saxenian attributes open labour markets and an entrepreneurial business culture to Silicon Valley's success

compared to Route 128, which is viewed as having more traditional, less-open markets and hierarchical organization structures. While the impacts of traditional gender roles on women's labour market participation and success (such as the gender-wage gap, the mommy track, the glass ceiling, occupational concentration and segregation, and the second shift) have been well-documented, the impacts of open labour markets and horizontal networks of inter-firm competition and intra-firm organization in the new economy (i.e. industry clusters, regional systems of innovation, and learning communities) are less known.

For example, Saxenian's study emphasizes the "social embeddedness of labour markets," (1998:30) in an open labour market where:

...[I]ndividuals secure their long-term employability through participation in neighborhood groups, hobby clubs, or other professional and social networks outside the firm. Only those who participate in such multiple, loosely connected networks are likely to know when their current jobs are in danger, where new opportunities lie, and what skills are required to seize them. The more open corporate labor markets become, the greater the economic compulsion to participate in the social activities they organize (Sabel, 1991 quoted in Saxenian 1998:30).

Saxenian found that in Silicon Valley, local restaurants hosted informal, impromptu gatherings of entrepreneurial engineers during which vital industry information was exchanged outside of traditional work hours, and that the local entrepreneurs viewed this "gossip as a crucial aspect of their businesses" (1998:32). The open labour market is portrayed as employees (mostly engineers) driven by their craft to invent new technologies, where firm loyalty is second to expressing creativity through innovation. Also, employers are described as supporting inter-firm mobility, offering competitive incentives to attract employees and parting with employees with the understanding that they are welcomed to return to the firm if they ever want to. Saxenian points out that this

arrangement “created an important safety net for local engineers” (34). Hence, the region is characterized by high employee turnover, a trait that is approved of in the entrepreneurial business culture of Silicon Valley (33). It is, however, not surprising that women are under-represented in open labour markets that rely on social networks outside of regular business hours for job security and promotion considering their disproportionate share of unpaid household and caring responsibilities. This raises the question of how high employee turnover affects women in the Silicon Valley ICT sector in terms of securing family benefits that normally accrue over time such as paid leave and points to the oversight of considering traditional gender roles in unpaid and caring work in entrepreneurial city strategies.

This thesis argues that since local economic development policy-makers influence the socio-spatial character of labour markets through their dominant policy frames, discourses and strategies, the more that the discourses they use incorporate the informal economy in a livability or quality of life discourse, the more open policy-makers will be to consider women, gender and diversity in local economic development policy-making, and the greater opportunity GM advocates will have to strategically frame GM to resonate with economic development goals.

Within political economy approaches, urban regime theory and scalar theory re-emphasize the role of the state in creating a “framework for local actors,” insist that local interests are “highly influential in determining the priorities for local environmental management,” and that they engage with others beyond the local and regional scale so that policies do not derive in one direction from state to local but that governance is two-directional or “multi-scalar” (Leibovitz 2003). Similarly, scalar theory, drawn from

critical geography, theorizes “urban comparisons within broader national and supra-national contexts” as the traditional emphasis on nation-states in political economy has to adapt to the processes of “continentalization and globalization;” “more mobile academics and politicians;” and “localization that occurs under neoliberalization” (Boudreau et al. 2007:30). As Sellers (2005) notes, “Multilevel accounts of cities and their contexts must move beyond rhetoric about the global-local nexus to grapple with the national institutions, economies, and cultures within which urban regimes and the politics continue to nest” (Sellers 2005:441).

According to Neil Brenner (2004) “state rescaling” refers to the propensity of nation-states to “promot[e] city-regionalism” as part of the neoliberal state agenda. States “govern through cities” by “experimenting with new forms of governance (most notably with private partners), subsidizing winners rather than redistributing to losers, and betting on a good quality of life as an economic development strategy” (Boudreau et. al. 2007:43). Brenner labels a state that adopts the new city-regionalism theory and entrepreneurial city strategies a “rescaled competition state regime” (2004). It is:

Rescaled, because it rests upon scale-sensitive political strategies intended to position key subnational spaces... optimally within supranational ...circuits of capital accumulation; a competition state, because it privileges the goal of economic competitiveness over traditional welfarist priorities such as equity and redistribution; and a regime, because it represents an unstable, evolving institutional-geographic mosaic rather than a fully consolidated framework of statehood (Brenner 2004:260 in Boudreau et al. 2007:37).

Scales are also “constituted and reconstituted around relations of capitalist production, social reproduction and consumption” (Marston 2000:22). The inclusion of social reproduction in scale construction allows for the personal to enter the political as “the neighborhood, household and the body” become new scales (Mahon 2006:454).

Therefore, scales “reflect and contribute to the construction of power relations” (Mahon 2006:454).

The state sets an overarching policy framework, which Geoffrey Hale (2002) suggests was based on the acceptance of the new economic order in the early 2000s. The solution to the new economic order according to Paul Martin’s federal Liberals was an “innovation and inclusion” policy agenda in the late 1990s (Hale 2002:21). The state’s priorities influence local policy-making by making funds available for local projects that support the federal plan; however, local actors can also influence policy adoptions by strategically framing social issues to resonate with “competitiveness” and “quality of life” or “livability” factors “such that no one scale is privileged” (Gibbs, Jonas and While 2002:124). Finally, the influence of local political cultures is another way that local actors influence multi-scale policy-making processes.

For example, Mahon (2006) points to the importance of the local political culture and strategic framing by child care advocates in her study of the multi-scalar factors and social movements that led to municipal child care policies in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. She describes how the federal government set the stage for municipal child care policies by defining child care in liberal terms, ascribing its legislative control to the provinces, and providing limited funding. Child care advocates in the City of Toronto were able to convince a “pro-business” city government that child care was an essential “social investment” to aid the city’s “competitiveness” despite the province’s funding cuts for child care provisions in the wake of the federal Canada Health and Social Transfer Fund (Mahon 2006:459).¹⁷ In Vancouver, a reformist mayor, a strong Left

¹⁷ In 1996, the federal government replaced the Canadian Assistance Plan (1966-1996) with the Canada Health and Social Transfer Fund (CHST).

among city council, a livability discourse leading city planning and policy-making, and “the invention of cost levies and community amenity contributions” to finance child care commitments led to the adoption of a municipal child care policy by 1991 (Mahon 2006:460). Thus, in spite of the neoliberal scalar limitations, child care activists were able strategically to frame child care as a necessary provision for economic development growth strategies in terms of “competitiveness” in Toronto and livability in Vancouver.

In Montreal, the local political culture favours the boroughs over the metropolitan scale, which has led to an inequitable implementation of the provincially set \$5 a day child care program with middle and higher income neighborhoods having access to better care and facilities than lower income neighborhoods. Mahon concludes that the differences in child care policies and provisions in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal suggest that scalar hierarchies are real and historically constituted. They also shape the institutions and opportunities for local actors but do not predetermine their actions.

Comparing Toronto and Montreal’s local responses to globalization and neoliberalization, Boudreau et. al. (2008) also find that “the specificities of local cultures, local configuration of actors, and local relationship with state institutions bring about divergent modes of neoliberalization” (35-36). In Toronto public-private partnerships are seen as an opportunity for economic elites to directly influence political decision-making, as opposed to lobbying. In Montreal, however, Bourdreau et. al. found that economic elites had to compete with the province’s vision of a local “compromise between neoliberalism and social democracy” (2008:41). Therefore, city-regionalism had different outcomes in Toronto and Montreal due to the differences in local political culture. In Toronto, city-regionalism focused on positioning the city within the global market system

“and thus competitiveness serves as a legitimizing device for virtually every policy move” (Bourdreau et. al. 2008:46). In Montreal, however, the province’s social democratic perspective led to a version of city-regionalism that resulted in “institutional building strategies aimed at consolidating statehood” (46).

These studies suggest that women, gender and diversity issues can be strategically framed to fit within the new city-regionalism discourse by arguing that they enhance local competitiveness as quality of life policies. Moreover, that the local political culture and the urban-provincial-federal scalar relationships influence the adoption of these arguments. Chapter four of this thesis will also argue that a local political culture in which economic development elites celebrate immigrants as a source of entrepreneurship can allow community activists to mobilize a coalition of social agencies and business owners on the issue of immigrant employment. For example, the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN) was viewed as a legitimate social-economic policy issue based on multi-scalar acceptance and support of immigrant employment at the federal scale according to the innovation and inclusion agenda (Hale 2002); the Provincial Roundtable on Mobilizing Professions and Trades; and at the regional scale by the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council. A vital component to this discussion is how women, or in the case of WRIEN, diversity advocates infiltrate economic development policy communities and access powerful local actors in order to establish their frames in the policy-making process.

Given the rise of public-private partnerships and associative forms of local governance, many researchers have questioned their democratic capacity. Ideally, public-private partnerships are infused with “associational pluralism” (Cohen and Rogers 1992;

1995; Hirst 1994;2005), which depends on a relative balance of power between local actors and on what Jurgen Habermas calls an “ideal speech situation” enabling all parties to participate equally in decision-making processes (Beaumont and Nicholls 2008).

Various studies, however, point to the differences in power relations between elites and community actors that often lead to excluding labour interests and the poor. They also shed light on the difficulties of building trust among public and private actors who are not used to collaborating and have different interests, which are reflected in their divergent discourses (Todd 1996; Bockmeyer 2000; Chatterton and Style 2001; Leibovitz 2003; Bradford 2003; Beaumont and Nicholls 2008). The differences between the economic development objectives of municipal economic development offices and the private sector-based Prosperity Council in this case study attests to the differences in interests and language that are used. In contrast, Lipietz’s (2008) study of “city development strategies” in Johannesburg suggests that the “broader political opportunity structure” can influence the participatory outcomes of collective city strategic planning. Her case study shows the capacity of formal institutions and processes such as electoral representation and bureaucratic power to incorporate social justice concerns with economic growth.

Beaumont and Nicholls (2008) suggest that to determine the democratic-participatory character of associative forms of governance, one must examine the political and geographical context in which it is situated; the power relations between elites and marginal actors in policy communities; and the extent to which the poor and excluded citizens are empowered before engaging in deliberative decision-making processes in public-private partnerships (Hirst 1994; 2005). Bradford’s (2003) study of the public-private partnerships under the New Democratic Party government in Ontario

(1990-1995) suggests that public-private partnerships are not in of themselves immune to combining social and economic concerns but that the broader political context including local, provincial and federal scales need to be addressed to design more inclusionary models of NPM. Therefore, in order to see how associative forms of governance treat women, gender, and diversity and whether they differ from economic development offices housed in the hierarchies of municipal bureaucracies, we must look at how the urban scale combines social agendas with economic development objectives, and what types of leadership on women-based concerns and gender relations are evident at the urban movement, provincial and federal scales. The evidence in this case study is that the public-private partnerships that are included in the economic development policy community are more socially progressive, meaning they have greater entrenched gender and diversity views than municipal actors and that they look at a broader socio-economic picture than the municipal economic development departments, which are largely consumed with bottom-line figures according to traditional economic development strategies – even when pursuing entrepreneurial city strategies.

Moreover, at least one of the public-private partnerships in Waterloo Region blurs the distinctions between NPM public-private partnerships or associative forms of governance and the community economic development approach. The new community economic development approach is a sustainability policy frame action strategy that presents an alternative to entrepreneurial city strategies. Community economic development focuses on “self-reliance” and the “empowerment” of local citizens and communities in the context of globalization, the erosion of state power, and the diffusion of national identity (Levine, Torjman, and Born 2002:204). This approach argues that

higher unemployment and poverty rates in local settings means that cities must deal with increased social-economic pressures such as providing affordable housing, social assistance, sustainable food supplies, integrating newcomers and diverse populations, and the availability of local quality employment opportunities in a global market system, while emphasizing that women and children and people of diverse backgrounds are often among the most vulnerable populations (Levine, et.al. 2002:201). Federal, provincial, and municipal governments can empower local citizens and enhance social inclusion by focusing “within” communities; on the local capacities of “knowledge, skills and assets”; and on long-term, endogenous, economic development that links social and economic goals as opposed to external investment attraction and economic *growth* (Levine et. al. 2002:202-3). For example, cities can reward companies that hire and use local resources; reduce poverty traps by providing child care, public transportation, venture capital and equipment subsidies; and remove market barriers by reconsidering home business based bylaws and creating databases on the local labour force, job vacancies, and training programs in the city (Levine et. al. 2002).

The community economic development approach can supplement entrepreneurial city strategies by emphasizing sustainable livelihoods in the new economy (Jackson and Khan 2003). Jackson and Khan (2003) argue that entrepreneurial city strategies which focus on “education, health, transport, policing, [and] greenspace [to] attract and retain these middle- and upper middle-class professionals” do not provide sustainable livelihoods even for elite workers due to the volatility of the ICT sector as witnessed during the 1990s. Even the most privileged economic development strategy of government – university – private sector networking and collaboration to build an ICT

industry cluster, is “not immune” to insecure employment and thus, insecure households with social ramifications similar to those of low income households (broken marriages, single parenthood, and rebellious teenagers). Therefore, economic development elites need to bring social sector representation to multi-sector leadership forums to deal with market imperfections and social ramifications (Jackson and Khan 2003).

In short, the alternative of a community economic development action strategy bridges social and economic goals by focusing on social reproduction, social inclusion and equity in the labour market and the community as a whole in a way that neoliberal public-private partnerships thus far have not. The community economic development strategy provides an alternative to entrepreneurial city strategies that allows the consideration of diverse women and unequal gender relations to enter economic development policy discussions. Moreover, it allows women and people of diverse backgrounds to become part of policy discussions, such as the Opportunities 2000 project in Waterloo Region, which mobilized business, government, foundation, education and social organization leaders with “welfare mothers” in a community-based policy discussion on the eradication of local poverty (Jackson and Khan 2003:13). In this case study, however, the Opportunities 2000 and the community economic development organization that ran it – Tamarack, An Institute for Community Engagement, based in Waterloo – did not even register on the economic development policy community’s radar of policy community members. As a social advocacy network, however, Opportunities 2000 is a predecessor to the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network discussed in this case study.

4. Conclusion

This chapter presented the dominant new city-regionalism theory and its accompanying entrepreneurial cities policy frame as the leading view of economic development adopted by policy-makers from neoliberal to social democratic governments. It argued that the theories of Michael Porter (1990) and Richard Florida (2002; 2004) have been used to enhance the privileged position of urban scales and legitimize associative forms of governance between public and private sector actors in economic development because of their appeal to the “soft” side of institutions through social capital and livability or quality of life concepts. Yet the new city-regionalism theory is not apolitical nor without its gender implications given that it ignores the role of workers in performing unpaid and caring work in local economies – a role that is decreasingly but still disproportionately done by women. The dominant economic development strategies of industry clusters and creative cities need to be discussed in terms of the new opportunities and challenges they pose for women and equality amongst diverse peoples.

In order to do so, this thesis examines the differences between how policy actors, organizations, governments, and partnerships in the policy community include women and consider women’s roles in the policy-making process and policy outcomes according to the traditional economic development, entrepreneurial cities, and sustainable development policy frames. The cultural political economy approach, which argues that powerful local actors construe the policy discourse and the material outcomes in institutions and processes with the dominant discourse (Dannestam 2008) is used to guide this research through a textual frame analysis of the dominant discourses, and their

resultant economic development strategies in Waterloo Region's economic development policy process.

CHAPTER 3: Comparative Case Studies in Empowerment and Policy Studies

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises that underlie a comparative case study of the treatment of women-based concerns and gender issues in Waterloo Region's economic development policy community. I argue that not only are such studies congruent with theory building and testing but also that context specific information provides a basis for accumulating social knowledge of oppression, consciousness-raising, and empowerment within the broader process of global economic restructuring and its effects on local communities and women's lives in particular. The purpose of this research is to identify the conditions under which women-based concerns and gender issues are considered by local economic development policy-makers and under which conditions they are not considered, which circumstances facilitate its consideration and which hinder it, and on which factors do the consideration of women and gender issues depend. This approach to a case study is described as the "commonsense causal questions" (Lofland and Lofland 1984), and can be used to produce "a causal explanation developed for one case [that] can be tested elsewhere, supported, qualified, or subjected to revision in cross-case analysis" (Huberman and Miles (1994: 434).

This thesis has both practical and theoretical objectives. In practice, it aims to contribute to improving women's lives by bringing to local policy-makers' attention the practice of GM at other scales of governance and to consider how women-based concerns and gender issues arise in local economic development policy-making. By focusing on the local scale, I intend to highlight the different roles played by women and men in the

policy community; how gender relations and the local political culture influence the adoption of economic development policy frames, discourses and strategies; and how these strategies have unequal affects on men's and women's labour market options. If the policy community were to adopt GM, diverse women's experiences in socio-economic policy planning as well as their barriers to labour market participation could be uncovered and economic development policies could be devised to improve women's labour market outcomes, and thus their resources for empowerment. At a minimum, the research allows the policy community members to consider women's roles in the local economy in policy-making and the gender hierarchies in the policy community.

Theoretically, the findings of this thesis aim to contribute to an understanding of the factors that influence the adoption and implementation of GM in particular locales, (such as the inclusion of diverse women in decision-making processes; gender sensitivity training provided by organizations based on gender-disaggregated statistics; the presence of allied elites; and strategically framing gender equality goals to resonate with mainstream goals [Elgstrom 2000; Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Beveridge et. al. 2000; Rankin and Vickers 2001; Verloo 2001; Moser 2005; Moser and Moser 2005; Veitch 2005; Clisby 2005]). In addition, the findings will reflect on the consideration and implications of GM for diverse women's empowerment in Canadian society (Burt and Hardman 2001; Hankivsky 2005; Siltanen and Doucet 2008).

The two-tier governance system in Waterloo Region allows me to compare the treatment of women-based concerns and gender issues among regional public-private partnerships and municipal bureaucracies; and between two dominant local economic development policy frames within one regional context as it shifts from a traditional

manufacturing economy to a knowledge-based economy. Therefore, comparisons of the treatment of women and gender-based concerns can be drawn between the organizational culture of municipal bureaucracies and NPM models of governance, as well as between traditional economic development and the new entrepreneurial cities policy frames to see how they affect diverse women's opportunities for empowerment.

2. Feminist Studies and Praxis at the Local Scale for Women's Empowerment

An emphasis on the local scale is argued to be instrumental to feminist studies because women's empowerment is greatly affected by locally-based processes, and because women's daily experiences are rooted in and shed light on gender-based power relationships. Feminist researchers have demonstrated the crucial influence that the local scale has on women's daily lives (see chapter one). For instance, economic development policies that shape local labour markets and urban planning policies that influence the infrastructure and public transportation schedules and routes influence women's opportunities for paid employment, and thus, their primary resources for empowerment.¹⁸

As Hanson and Pratt (1995) argue in their case study of Worcester, New York:

"[a]ttention to the globalization of culture and economy should not allow us to lose sight of the rootedness of local lives, to facts of existence such as the tedium of waiting for buses and the effects that this waiting might have on the rest of one's life" (22).

GM aims to empower women by equally including them in the decision-making

¹⁸ By this I mean that women most often work in local labour markets as opposed to long commutes or international labour markets where people who have high levels of human capital investments can more easily transfer their work across national borders and multinational corporations. For example, a person holding a senior managerial position in a multinational corporation is more likely to move to another branch in another country, and/or to move to a different multinational corporation than a person with low human capital investments, such as occupations in assembly, retail or sales, clerical work or other industrial support work that does not require high investments in human capital, and who is consequently, more dependent on local labour markets for jobs.

processes during the policy planning stages and by encouraging institutional reforms that allow diverse women to set policy agendas (Beveridge et. al. 2000; Moser 2005). Therefore, eliminating barriers to women's participation in the policy-making process and increasing women's representation on decision-making bodies are fundamental to women's empowerment and are two important considerations in the treatment of women and gender in local economic development policy-making. There are several other ways, however, in which GM in local economic development can aid the process of women's empowerment according to Naila Kabeer's (1999) and Paula England's (2000) empowerment models.

According to Kabeer (1999), empowerment is a process whereby disadvantaged people acquire the power to make choices that they expect to lead to improvements in their own self-interest. Moreover, choices must be made from a set of alternatives and in areas that have a significant impact on one's life, such as nutritional options, selection of a marital partner, use of contraception or prenatal health care, mobility and work outside of the home. Kabeer visualizes empowerment as a three step process. The process begins with a set of pre-conditions broadly described as resources because they include both material gains and social relationships encompassing the family, market, state and community that set the institutional arrangements of women's lives. In other words, these are the societal rules and norms that distribute power to some groups of individuals over others. These "norms and rules governing social behavior tend to ensure that certain outcomes are reproduced without any apparent exercise of agency, apart from compliance with the rules" (Kabeer 1999:4). Economic allocations, future expectations, ownership, and debt are measurements of resources. For example, education, networking

opportunities, employment opportunities and income, investment opportunities and income, entrepreneurship, inheritances and dowries all fall under resources, as do patriarchal or egalitarian social systems, corrupt or lawful banking systems, democracies and dictatorships.

The second step in Kabeer's empowerment process is the exercise of power through agency. Agency is described as the ability to define and exercise choices and goals. Although it is often measured by decision-making power, agency can also be exercised through "bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance, as well as more cognitive processes of reflection and analysis" (Kabeer 1999:3). For example, choosing to take advantage of flexible work arrangements in order to facilitate a work-life balance can be empowering for women when these options are attached to secure employment positions.

The final and most difficult step to measure in the empowerment process is outcomes or achievements. The difficulty arises in that achievements are not equally valued by societies or all people within a society, not all people aspire to achieve the same conditions or assets, and not all aspirations nor the processes leading to achievements are observable. Therefore, Kabeer stresses that measurements of achievements indicate women's empowerment when they reflect the exercise of women's agency outside of the "prescribed gender roles" (i.e. they are "transformative") and when women's agency leads to "a reduction in prevailing gender inequalities in functioning achievements" (Kabeer 1999:27-28). In her overview of empowerment studies in various international contexts, Kabeer finds that women's economic activity is often associated with achievements in women's empowerment, leading her to conclude that women's

economic activity for empowerment strategies should be taken “very seriously” (1999:29).

England (2000) presents a similar but more contextualized process of empowerment by limiting her model to northern, industrialized countries. For instance, she defines power vis-à-vis a husband or a seller as purchasing power accrued from employment earnings since this is the major source of most women’s income in industrialized settings that does not increase their dependence on a male partner or family member. Unlike unpaid household work or care-giving, earnings from employment is also what could be withdrawn from a relationship if it were to be dissolved, thereby setting a woman’s fallback position in intra-household bargaining situations. Still, England’s objective bases of power – the economic resources, laws and institutional rules, and the informal norms held by others – mirrors Kabeer’s pre-conditions or resources category. Also, England’s subjective states of a sense of entitlement and a belief in self-efficacy, and the exercise of power (which include the various ways women could exercise agency) reflect Kabeer’s agency step in the empowerment process in that believing “one’s own action’s will have the intended effects” (self-efficacy) and that one deserves a certain amount of something in relation to others (entitlement) will likely lead one to chose to act. England’s subjective states fall short, however, of defining a set of choices or goals, or agenda setting according to Kabeer’s description of agency. Finally, both models end in outcomes that improve one’s own self-interest.

Thus, both Kabeer’s and England’s empowerment models emphasize the underlying structures, institutions, and norms that regulate social behaviour and empower certain groups of individuals over others. They also emphasize women’s economic activity as a

resource leading to acts of agency to improve their own self-interest, thereby underscoring the importance of GM in local economic development. Therefore, both models are used to guide the discussion of empowerment in this thesis. Kabeer's model is considered because her definition of agency includes setting goals or agendas, which is used as one of the indicators of women's position and gender relations within the economic development policy community; while England's model of empowerment places essentially the same elements as Kabeer's into a northern, industrialized, policy context. For example, in addition to defining power as purchasing power; pay equity policies and public health care systems can be identified as laws that enhance the objective bases of power; belonging to a career networking group could indicate a woman's self-efficacy (since she would arguably only join a networking group if she thought it would expand her possibilities in a society where her efforts make a difference); and egalitarian and feminist beliefs among a community indicates the informal norms as part of the objective bases of power.

This thesis uses Kabeer's definition of agency and England's objective bases of power to guide the analysis of women's roles in the policy-making process and the consideration of women-based concerns and gender issues by Waterloo Region's economic development policy community as they aid or abate the empowerment of diverse women. Kabeer's definition of agency is reflected in the participation of women from the policy community and the community at large on decision-making bodies; as well as in how the women in the interview sample view their levels of input into policy-making and setting the economic development agenda.

England's objective bases of power (or Kabeer's resources) are used to inform the

pre-conditions under which women and gender-based concerns are (or are not) considered by the policy community and are (or are not) reflected in economic development strategies. In particular, this thesis considers how the federal and provincial governments play a role in establishing laws and policies for local economic development that either enhance or detract from attending to women-based concerns or gender issues (e.g. employment and pay equity policies, types and purposes of financial support [block funds, earmarked funds or matched funds], requiring gender-based analysis of economic development policies; providing local gender-disaggregated data; and supporting female networking, entrepreneurship, flexible work patterns, or child care provisions). Second, it considers the how the institutional rules and arrangements of the policy community affect the treatment of women and gender issues in local economic development policy-making (e.g. a two-tier governance system, bureaucratic municipalities and the value of neutrality, NPM models, and gender hierarchies within the policy community). Third, the informal norms held by the policy community receives a great deal of attention since the policy community's views toward women-based concerns and gender-based issues as they relate to local economic development specifically, are arguably the greatest indicator of the treatment of women and gender issues in the absence of a government mandate or citizen demand to adopt a GM policy. The informal norms that influence the consideration of women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development policy-making include the local political culture, the gender lenses and gender equality frames, and the economic development policy frames of the policy community members.

3. Gender Lenses and Gender Equality Frames

One of the primary elements of a GM policy adoption is gender sensitivity training in organizations to create an organizational culture that fosters discussions on gender-based issues; enhances equality in its administrative procedures; and spreads a gender lens to its employees so that they can conduct gender-based analyses of proposed policies (Rankin and Vickers 2001; Moser 2005; Rao and Kelleher 2006). In the absence of GM and gender sensitivity training in Waterloo Region's economic development policy community organizations, the existing gender lenses and gender equality frames (Verloo 2004) of the policy community members indicate how the policy community views and addresses women-based concerns and gender issues in economic development policy-making. Recall that a gender (equality) lens is defined as: "a way of looking at the work we do so as to identify ways of supporting the well-being of women and men (girls and boys); taking special care to ensure inclusion of the full diversity of women" (City for All Women Initiative 2008:7).

Specifically, the interviewees' gender lenses are defined and categorized in this thesis based on their responses to several interview questions regarding the roles of women and gender issues in their organizations, and the utility of gender-disaggregated data and gender-based analysis in local economic development policy-making so that the lenses align with feminist theories of gender views where possible. The interview responses create a continuum of ways of viewing gender roles and relations from those who had reportedly never considered gender issues before (*the gender unaware*) to those who consider unequal gender relations as a result of traditional gender roles and systemic discrimination to affect all of society's institutions so that gender inequalities are inter-

generationally reproduced in the absence of feminist action (the *gender lens*). The gender lens in this research is aligned with the view of “equality of impact” as opposed to an “equality of treatment” (Beveridge et al 2000:386).

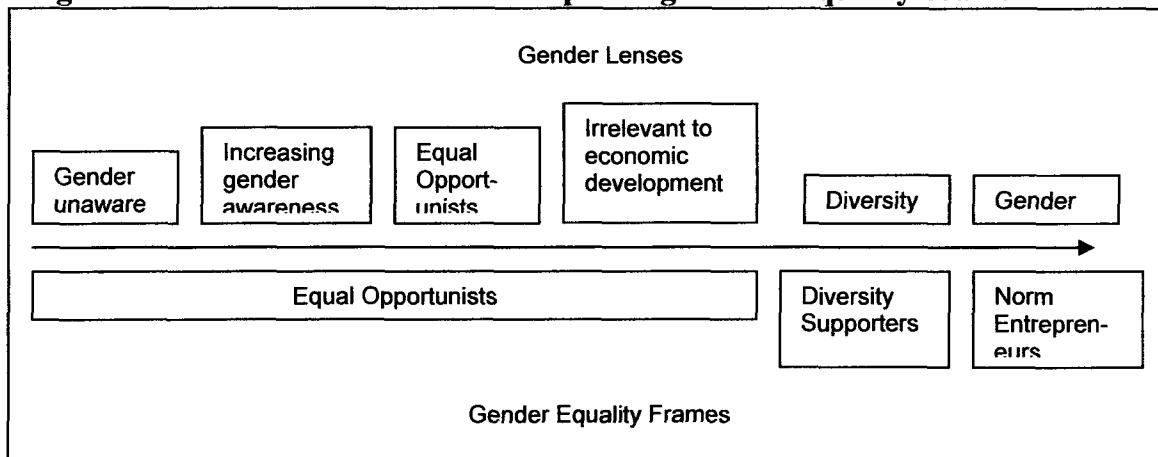
In between these two extremities is the *increasing gender awareness* category assigned to those who conveyed a change in their feelings on gender roles and relations during the interviews for this thesis. The *irrelevant to economic development* category of gender lenses describes the interviewees who acknowledge gender inequalities in society but think that they are irrelevant to economic development issues. The *equal opportunists* believe that legislative measures have removed systemic discrimination so that gender inequalities are a result of individual preference in a non-discriminatory Canadian society. The equal opportunists category resonates with the “equality of treatment” stance in feminist theory whereby “men make the standard against which women are measured” (Beveridge et al 2000:387); as well as the “strategy of inclusion” according to Judith Squires’ (1999) typology of feminist political action. The strategy of inclusion is described as:

The strategy of inclusion, often defended by liberal feminists, aims at the inclusion of women in the world as it is, in a political form which they are currently excluded. This exclusion of women is what is problematized. They usually aspire to impartiality, conceive of people as autonomous, and espouse an equality of politics. This strategy seeks gender-neutrality. One could also say that it wants to extend dominant values to all, irrespective of gender (Verloo 2005:345-346).

Lastly, falling in between the equal opportunists lens and the gender lens are those interviewees with a *diversity lens*. These interviewees felt that gender inequalities are only one component of a greater concern for diversity and so gender should be considered along with other demographics in the broader context of diversity strategies. Thus, a diversity lens in this thesis adds other demographics into the equality of treatment

and the strategy of inclusion. They do not have the same goals as post-modern or post-structuralist feminists who aim to go ‘beyond gender’ to a “diversity politics” that “seeks to displace patriarchal gender hierarchies and to deconstruct discursive regimes that engender the subject” (Verloo 2005:346). This “strategy of displacement” (Squires 1999) was not evident among the policy community. Instead of over-turning the patriarchal systems that lead to gendered identities in the first place, the diversity lens exhibited among the policy community members is more concerned with adding the categories of “women” and “gender” into a broader category of diversity. Neither did they present an intersectionality approach to diversity by suggesting that gender intersects with other aspects of identity that equally impact women’s experiences. Rather, the diversity lens suggests that the inclusion of other demographic populations, such as cultural and ethnic minorities, is equally important or more important than the inclusion of women or the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual community. In summary, the gender lens continuum can be illustrated as thus:

Diagram 3.1: Gender Lenses and Corresponding Gender Equality Frames



Whereas the gender lenses describe how the interviewees viewed gender relations in economic development specifically (as in “the work we do”), the gender frames broaden the interviewees’ views to describe their overall perspectives on gender relations in society, including their actions in the policy community. Recall a gender equality frame refers to “different and sometimes competing ideas about what the problem is, and about who is responsible for the problem, about what are the causes and effects, and about what would be a solution (Verloo 2004:3). This thesis describes the gender equality frames as *norm entrepreneurs*, *diversity supporters*, and *equal opportunists*.

Elgstrom’s (2000) term of norm entrepreneurs is used to label the most vocal and radical feminist interviewees among the interview sample who push the limits of the policy community’s political culture and institutionalized practices where gender issues are concerned by presenting alternatives, bargaining, negotiating and strategically framing women-based issues in light of the status quo. Norm entrepreneurs also stay current with social research and social movements, and engage in feminist activism in the community to break down traditional gender roles and stereotypes, which they see as producing systemic discrimination. Thus, the norm entrepreneurs relate to Judith Squires’ (1999) “strategy of reversal” in that they “start from the assumption of gender difference and hence espouse a difference politics. ... This strategy seeks recognition for a specific female gendered identity. It is typically argued here that politics ought to be reconstructed to manifest the distinctive perspective of non-hegemonic gender identities and cultures (usually female)” (Verloo 2005:346). Not surprisingly, the norm entrepreneurs were also the same five interviewees who were the most receptive to me and the interview process upon meeting.

Five interviewees were labeled as having a diversity supporter frame; my own term to describe their liberal views of feminism and an emphasis on women and gender issues as legitimate policy discussions only within broader concerns for diversity. They include the three interviewees with a diversity lens along with two interviewees who espoused an equal opportunists lens in their economic development roles but were also instrumental in supporting municipal diversity strategies so that the city can better reflect and service the population it represents.

Lastly, fifteen interviewees were labeled equal opportunists; a term I chose to describe those interviewees who thought that economic development is inherently gender neutral (the irrelevant to economic development lens); who thought that gender-based discrimination has been eliminated in contemporary Canadian society (the equal opportunists lens); and who had never considered gender issues before (the gender unaware and increasing gender awareness lens). In addition, five interviewees whose gender lens was coded as *unknown*, meaning that they did not reveal any views on gender issues or women's positions in society are also categorized as equal opportunists given the reasonable assumption that in the absence of either pro- or anti-feminist statements, they would agree with a prevailing liberal feminist view of equality of opportunity in Canadian society.

4. Cultural Political Economy and Policy Frame Analysis

The cultural political economy approach to policy studies is adopted in this thesis to combine the consideration of structural, political and cultural potential explanatory factors of the treatment of women and gender issues by the local economic development policy community. This approach integrates the cultural turn in social sciences, meaning

attention to “the intersubjective production of meaning” in language, rhetoric, discourses and identities, with the state-centered study of how structures and processes are reproduced in political economy (Dannestam 2008:258-9; Jessop and Sum, 2000; Jessop, 2004; Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008). Methodologically, this means that a “discursive-material analysis” looks at how actors employ ideologies, policy frames, discourses, and identities to create dominant discursive positions in policy communities and how they use “technologies of power” – that is “the techniques through which hegemonic discourses get institutionalized in political practice” (Dannestam 2008:369) – to create material changes in institutions, structures, and processes.

During the policy-making process the policy community defines the problems and identifies alternative solutions through a political discourse emulating the values of the dominant policy paradigm – a paradigm that, in turn, reflects the prevailing ideologies arising from the history and culture of the society. Identifying the dominant discourses and policy frames that policy-makers use to define problems, rationalize policy solutions, and determine the appropriate mix of policy tools is important to understanding how women and gender are considered in the economic development policy-making process of cities. A discourse is “an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena. Discourses frame certain problems; that is to say, they distinguish some aspects of a situation rather than others...If many people use it to conceptualize the world – it will solidify into an institution” (Hajer 1993:45-46). The cultural political economy approach is one method of analyzing how discourses solidify into institutions. Of course policy-making includes competing and co-existing discourses, several of which can make up a policy frame.

Hajer and Laws (2006) define a frame as “an account of ordering that makes sense in the domain of policy and that describes the move from diffuse worries to actionable beliefs” (Hajer and Laws 2006:256-257). Therefore, a frame is rooted in language, and in discourses in particular to structure links between believed social facts with accepted values and provide rationales to guide social action (Hajer and Laws 2006). “Framing is the process of drawing these relationships and the frame is the internally coherent constellation of facts, values, and action implications” Hajer and Laws 2006:256). Schön and Rein (1996) look at frames as “underlying structures”; as providing boundaries around events and meanings; and as a ““schemata of interpretation that enables individuals’ to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space and their world at large ‘rendering events meaningful and thereby guiding action’” (Schön and Rein 1996:89 quoted by Hajer and Laws 2006:257).

In social movement theory, a collective action frame is a non-structural factor that arguably leads to collective action by activists’ strategic articulation of linking facts, values and actions (Snow and Benford 1992). The purpose of framing in this context is to create a dominate frame based on experiential consistency, empirical facts, and dominant ideologies to motivate others to follow the prescribed actions (Hajer and Laws 2006). Since frames are not just “out there” but are discursive exercises in ordering the world around us in a “coherent and graspable” manner, there can be competing frames that various actors put forth in the effort to establish a dominant frame. Snow and Benford (1992) argue that in some cases actors will strategically frame their chosen frame to resonate with an existing dominant frame by using the discursive techniques of frame bridging, frame amplification, and frame extension to create rational linkages between

their chosen frame and the dominant frame.¹⁹ The purpose of strategic framing is to gain greater acceptance and thus social action based on the activists' frame; while at the same time, doubt, habit, and the fear of the unknown allow the dominant frame to persist (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Peirce 1992). The stability of the dominant frame is also "aligned with the distribution of influence and resources. This shapes a distinctive role for the analyst as an agent in this struggle whose critical perspective is needed to open up dominant frames by challenging their appropriation of interpretation that presents a particular way of linking facts, values, and actions as natural or self-evident" (Hajer and Laws 2006:258).

Methodologically, frames can be tested by the sharing of the frame (Snow and Benford 1992); or "reconstructed" (Verloo and Roggeband 2007) to explain "reasoning in cases, the commitment to act in complex policy fields, and features like intractable controversy [according to Rein and Schön]" (Hajer and Laws 2006:259).²⁰ Verloo and Roggeband (2007) combine seven elements of various frame analysis methodologies (diagnosis, prognosis, roles, causality, normativity, finality and gender) to create an analytical framework in order to reconstruct policy frames through analyses of discourses, policy texts, and gender impact assessments. Their framework begins with the category of "voice or standing" to include gender analysis with policy frame analysis. The voice category refers to questions regarding "who speaks, on what occasion, to what audience or forum, and in what form" (Verloo and Roggeband 2007:274). The second

¹⁹ Frame bridging is the process of connecting one's values or beliefs to the dominant or existing beliefs. Frame amplification involves emphasizing certain values or beliefs to resonate with dominant beliefs. Frame extension is the discursive technique of making new connections between the new frame and existing issues. Frame transformation refers to redefining issues from a different angle (Benford and Snow 2000).

²⁰ According to Hajer and Laws (2006): "An intractable controversy is one in which frames conflict and in which the conflict further insulates the frames from reflection" (259).

category of diagnosis refers to definitions and conceptualizations of the problem, identifying its causes and the roles of problem definers, problem makers, victims and perpetrators. The prognosis is the proposed solution to the problem including goals and the processes devised to achieve the designated goals. Finally, the calls for action category analyzes “who is given a voice in suggesting the course of actions, who should act and who is acted upon” (Verloo and Roggeband 2007:274).

A policy frame analysis is adopted in this thesis to analyze the economic development issues that have been addressed by the policy community in order to determine: 1) what are the economic development problems that need to be addressed (diagnosis); 2) who identifies the problems and puts them onto the economic development agenda (voice in diagnosis); 3) the boundaries of economic development issues and again, who sets them (voice in diagnosis); 4) the economic development strategies to solve the problem (prognosis); 5) the target populations of economic development policies and strategies (calls for action); 6) the originators of the action strategies for economic development (voice in prognosis and calls for action); and 7) if and how women-based concerns and gender issues are conceived of in relation to local economic development issues (gender in diagnosis, prognosis, and calls for action).

The policy frames discussed in this thesis are introduced in the previous chapter, the purpose of which was to elaborate on the prevailing and minor policy frames identified among Waterloo Region’s policy community according to the economic development literature. These are the two dominant traditional economic development and the entrepreneurial cities policy frames, the latter of which includes the new economic order diagnosis and the industry clusters and creative cities action strategies; and the minor

policy frame of sustainable development, which includes environmental and socio-economic critiques of global capitalism as the diagnosis; environmental preservation, social justice, equality, empowerment, access, inclusion, and social cohesion as the prognosis; and a community economic development action strategy.

The traditional economic development policy frame is described as the “nuts and bolts” of local economic development (interviewee 21). It is a very basic policy frame in that the problem definition is simply to create economic growth. The roles include local government officials, private investors, local entrepreneurs, and companies as the problem solvers, and skilled labour as the solution beneficiaries. Often, however, the traditional economic development policy solution focused on large manufacturing companies as the most efficient solution to create a large number of jobs. The prognosis to attract large companies to the area to provide jobs is complemented by efforts to retain existing business developments. Finally, the calls for action are to develop greenfields into industrial land and then to sell vacant industrial land to local developers, as well as to provide infrastructure to attract large companies to locate within municipal boundaries. Therefore, economic development officers would attend trade shows in other areas to market their region to potential investors and employers. A second call for action is for local economic development departments to act as representatives for existing business owners within multi-scalar government regulations. The traditional economic development policy frame includes the keywords: *industrial land, manufacturing, attraction, marketing, retention, traditional, skilled labour, infrastructure, greenfields, and blue collar.*

The entrepreneurial cities policy frame is more “sophisticated” (interviewee 18) in that it includes the new economic order discourse as the problem diagnosis and prognosis (i.e. if the global economy is transitioning to high technologies then we must become a high technology hub to compete in the global economy), and the industry clusters and the creative cities discourses as the calls for action, or what I refer to as action strategies. The new economic order discourse acts as a transitional explanation from traditional economic development to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame. It includes the affects of economic globalization that decrease governmental influence over market actors; and the shift among advanced industrialized nations from a manufacturing to a service and knowledge-based economy as the problem definition or diagnosis. The prognosis is to increase local competitiveness in the global economy by building a high technology and knowledge-based local economy. The new economic order discourse includes the keywords: *high technology, knowledge economy, shift from manufacturing, service industry, competitiveness, globalization, and the global economy*. It is not a full policy frame, however, without the calls for action, or action strategies of the industry clusters and creative cities discourses. The roles and action strategy of the industry clusters discourse propose that city-regional governments focus on local entrepreneurs who are the job creators (i.e. problem solvers), and that city-regional governments foster local partnerships amongst entrepreneurs and universities through networking opportunities and local consortiums to be more innovative and competitive in the global economy. The keywords associated with the industry clusters discourse are *clusters, entrepreneurs, local partnerships, and job creation*.

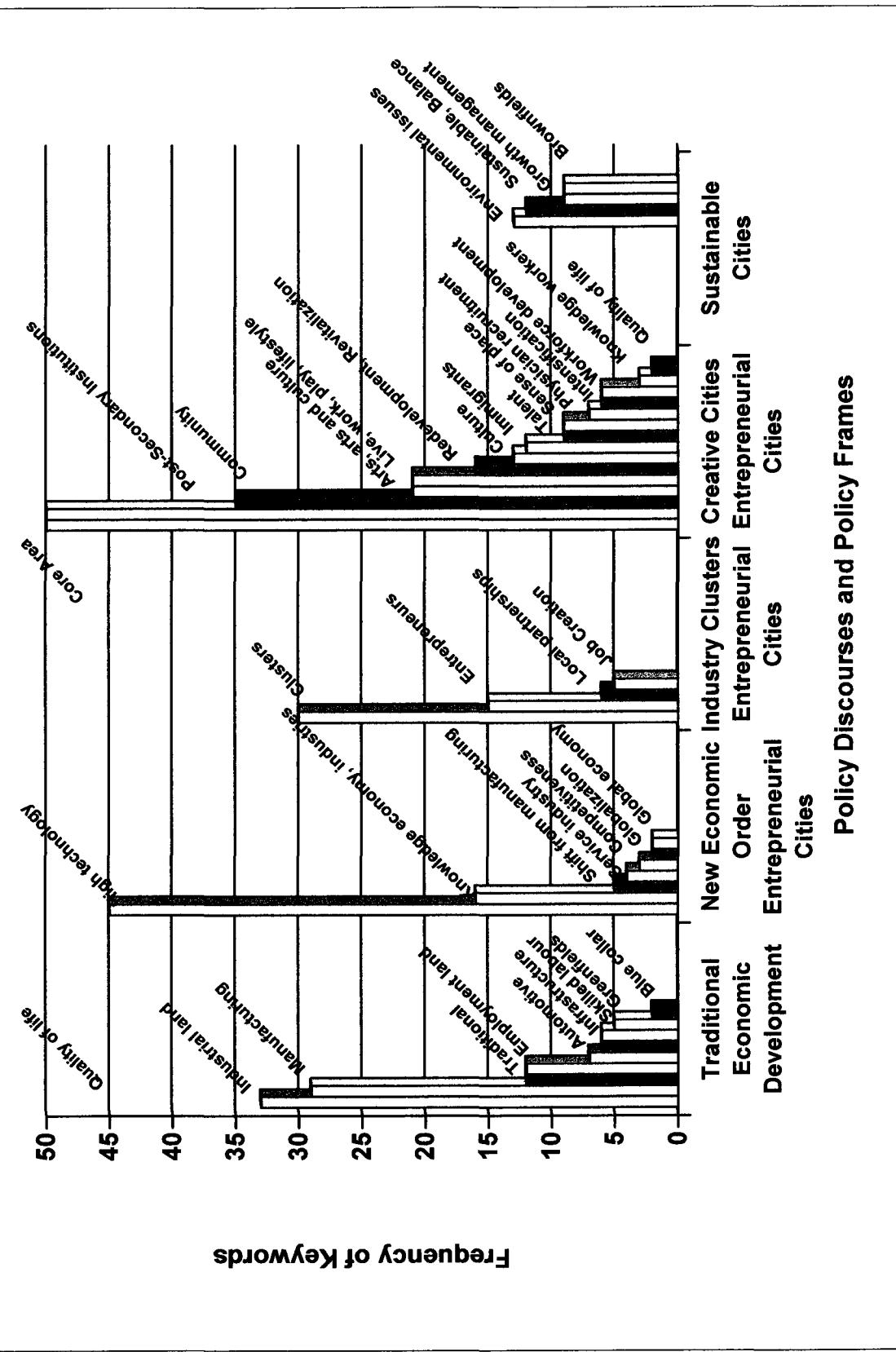
The creative cities discourse is a second action strategy within the entrepreneurial cities policy frame which suggests that city-regional governments focus their economic development efforts on creating the amenities, both tactile and ambient, that theoretically attract the creative class who are responsible for innovation. Therefore, the roles suggest that city-regional governments are the problem solvers, while professionals who comprise the creative class are the target population who are acted upon through attraction and marketing efforts. Thus, there is an interesting reversal between the traditional economic development policy frame and the entrepreneurial cities policy frames' action strategies as a result of the global economy and increased mobility of highly skilled workers. Under the traditional economic development policy frame local governments aim to accommodate big businesses who will create a large number of jobs for a population of skilled and semi-skilled workers. Under the entrepreneurial cities policy frame, however, city-regions aim to attract the highly skilled (post-secondary educated) who will either build their own businesses to create locally-grown jobs or who will work in locally grown companies to make them more innovative and competitive. Therefore, rather than attracting companies to hire people, entrepreneurial city strategies attract people to build companies and then align them together in social networking situations to build industries. The creative cities discourse includes *post-secondary institutions, core area, community, arts or arts and culture, live, work, play or lifestyle, redevelopment, revitalization, culture, immigrants, talent, sense of place, physician recruitment, intensification, workforce development, knowledge workers, and quality of life.*

Finally, the sustainability policy frame problematizes global capitalism in terms of the power of large companies to control local markets, environmental degradation resulting from development; social inequalities among local populations for their injustice and their propensity for leading to social unrest; and the compartmentalization of social, economic and environmental issues into separate departments and organizations so that the impacts of one are not considered on the others. The roles include global capitalists as the perpetrators with state and provincial governments as their enablers; multi-scales of government, local planners, economic development officers, community economic development organizations, social movement organizations, and citizen-activists as the problem solvers; and the environment, small and locally owned businesses, and economically vulnerable populations as the victims.

The solutions are twofold. The first is a mainstream concern for the environment so that local governments encourage development that is not harmful to the environment, and to adopt a holistic approach to policy-making that considers economic, environmental and social issues together. The second solution is less recognized by the mainstream economic development literature and policy community. That is a community economic development strategy to eliminate poverty, foster local markets (particularly for food production and consumption), create policies with citizen input, particularly from the policy target populations, and to consider socio-economic issues together and how they impact the environment. Waterloo Region's economic development policy community's use of the sustainability or sustainable development policy frame primarily focused on environmental factors with little mention of social sustainability issues. The keywords used among the local policy community in

accordance with the sustainability policy frame that are found in the literature include an amalgamation of phrases describing *environmental issues* (such as protecting moraines, attracting companies that are not polluters, and water protection), as well as *sustainable balance, growth management, and brownfields*. The main action strategies adopted by the policy community according to the sustainability policy frame are: 1) growth management plans, which include limiting the boundaries of industrial and residential development and encouraging development projects in core areas by offering tax incentives to the private sector; 2) redeveloping existing brownfields; and attracting environmentally conscience companies. Graph 3.1 depicts the frequencies of the all of the keywords used by the interview sample according to their discourses and policy frames.

Graph 3.1 Dominant Policy Discourses and Frames by Interviewees' Frequency of Keywords



5. Studies of Comparative Cases in the Social and Policy Sciences

Since the underlying concerns of this thesis are to enhance the institutional rules and norms that are part of the objective bases of power for women's empowerment by introducing the practice of GM to the local policy community, and to improve our understanding of the conditions and circumstances under which women-based concerns and gender issues are considered at the local scale, it follows that a case study approach is most suitable to attend to the underlying structures, institutions, and norms that regulate the treatment of women and gender issues and empower middle-class, able-bodied, Caucasian men over diverse men and women. Yet, as noted in the introduction, the case of Waterloo Region provides an even greater opportunity for analysis by allowing for four case studies (the regionally-based public-private partnerships and the three municipalities) within one geographic region and under one regional government. Intensive comparative studies of a few cases is an indispensable research method to investigate human agency within specific socio-economic, cultural and political contexts, while using both positivist and post-positivist epistemologies to produce qualified generalizations for theory construction. According to proponents of the case study and cross-case methodologies, qualified generalizations of the dynamic interactions between human agency and ever changing socio-political contexts is arguably the best type of generalizations that social scientists can produce (Glaser and Strauss 1967; 1999; 1972; Kennedy, 1979; Flyvbjerg 2001). In feminist studies, this view has been most frequently identified with Haraway's (1991) "situated theories" or situated knowledge.

According to social theorist Bent Flyvbjerg (2001), the assumption that people concede to rule-governed behaviour is the sole prerequisite for constructing predictive

social theories. He argues, however, that the rules, norms, institutions, structures and processes (i.e. the context) that sanction rule-governed behaviour must be examined in tandem with human agency. Since socio-political contexts vary geographically and temporally, social inquiries that aim to explore, explain or predict human behaviour and relationships must use context-dependent information to test and construct social theories. To abstract human agency from the particular context it operates in to produce general theories is to ignore the rules, norms, institutions, structures, and processes (i.e. those factors that are crucial to empowerment models) that govern human behaviour, without which human behavior is not predictable (Flyvbjerg 2001:42). Thus, the most comprehensive theory that social sciences can achieve is “context-dependent” (Flyvbjerg 2001), or “situated” (Haraway 1991). It acknowledges the researcher as both part of the social context and of the process of constructing social knowledge within a particular social, temporal and spatial positionality.

Situated knowledge places case studies in a comparative context of the appropriate literatures so that qualified generalizations can be made by the recipient, or audience of the research to another local context. For example, in the empowerment literature, Agarwal argues for women’s empowerment from a public policy perspective, in the specific location, culture and social relations of rural India, to be measured according to land titles (both formal and actual) because in an agricultural society, women’s economic independence and exercise of power depends on her ownership of land (Agarwal 1997). According to the concept of situated knowledge, others might make similar comparisons of empowerment indicators in other rural Indian locations or in rural parts of countries where they find similar cultures and social relations. I suggest that

readers can use the findings from this thesis to make “structured-focused comparisons” between the socio-economic and political culture of Waterloo Regional Municipality and other city-regions in Ontario and possibly Canada, meaning that the readers can make qualified or “contingent empirical generalizations” that are rich in detail and context to inform policy-makers (Chen and Snidal 1989:147).

For policy studies specifically, there must be an objective social fact – if not a reality – for policy-makers to base decisions on. The facts come from generalizations of people’s experiences but not necessarily from everyone’s experiences. Policy-makers need to make decisions with the knowledge that specific social phenomena are likely to be experienced by a subgroup of the concerned population based on their occurrence in other people’s lives. For example, in Canada approximately 47 percent of marriages result in divorce;²¹ 20 percent of all families with children are female-headed, lone-parent families (Statistics Canada, Women in Canada); approximately 6 to 8 percent of the working age population in the labour force are unemployed (Statistics Canada April 2009), and so on. Although none of these social facts may happen to one person and all three may happen to the same person, the possibility of any of them happening to anyone means that policies must be made and put into place for everyone that deals with the consequences of each of these.

It is equally important for policy-makers to know that social phenomena are experienced differently by men and women individually and in tentatively generalized terms. For example, women tend to be concentrated in lower paying occupations,

²¹ This percentage is based on dividing the number of divorces in 2003 by the number of marriages in 2004 in Canada based on years available by Statistics Canada, Divorces by Province and Territory, <http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/famil02-eng.htm> and Marriages by Province and Territory, <http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/famil04-eng.htm>

although not all women are, and some women earn more than their partners, although most women earn less than their partners. Determining qualified generalizations of social phenomena based on gender differences and differences amongst women's experiences for policy-makers to make decisions is the essence of conducting GM. As a policy tool, GM uses both qualitative accounts of subjective experiences and quantitative analysis of descriptive statistics to make locally-based generalizations of the differences between men and women's lived experiences and among women with various backgrounds and social classes. Therefore, a GM study rejects both the objective-subjective and qualitative-quantitative dichotomies of social science and instead aims to utilize experiential based data that values people's everyday experiences.

Uma Narayan (2000) suggests that not all generalizations are equally problematic. For example, Martha Nussbaum's (1995) generalizations on universal human rights are beneficial for promoting the well being of women and other vulnerable groups. Narayan re-positions the utility of qualified generalizations in the wake of cultural and gender essentialism arguing that accepting "differences" does not entail eliminating all types of generalization and universalism (2000:98). Generalizations, according to Narayan can be either "empirically false... offensive and dangerous" such as "'prostitution is still the main if not only source of work for African women'" (2000:97). Or, they can be "arguably true and politically useful in calling attention to human rights violations against women in a multiplicity of national contexts" (2000:97). For instance, "[w]omen continue to be discriminated against all over the world as regards to the recognition, enjoyment, and exercise of their individual rights in public and private and are subject to many forms of violence'" (2000:97). The second generalization, much like Martha

Nussbaum's list of human capabilities and functions (1995) is open to more concrete statements of historical, socio-spatial and cultural specificity (Narayan 2000:97).

Moreover, qualified generalizations made from contextually specific studies also help build collective identities based on shared experiences that mobilize social movements such as the women's movement. As Narayan argues, "It is seldom possible to articulate effective political agendas, such as those pertaining to human rights, without resorting to a certain degree of abstraction, which enables the articulation of salient similarities between problems suffered by various individuals and groups" (2000:97-98). The quality and value of the qualified generalization can be determined by its "empirical accuracy" and "political utility or risk" (Narayan 2000:97).

Intensive case studies are especially pertinent to policy studies when public policies are devised with the intention of a broad implementation base. For example, a federal state with many relatively autonomous and spatially dispersed jurisdictions suggests that case study knowledge about the temporal, spatial, demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural contexts of the locations are important variables that influence the implementation of public policies (Lipset, Trow and Coleman 1984). Relegating contextual specificities to the role of "extraneous variables" omits an analysis of the interactions between human agency and the institutions that establish rule-governed behaviour. In contrast, intensive case studies, or cross-case comparisons of a few empirical cases provide greater explanatory power than extensive (purely quantitative) comparative methods to explain historical outcomes and inform future predictions in the process of theory construction (Kennedy 1979; Chen and Snidal 1989; Stoecker 1991; Yin and Heald 1975; Yin 2004; Jacoby 2004). In summary, case studies constitute

important building blocks for comparative work in the social sciences because it is vital to know the structured processes that shape human behaviour in order to understand it.

With continuous, concerted effort of an academic community, case studies can be grouped by their primary research questions to produce structured-focused comparisons.

6. The Case Study Area: Waterloo Regional Municipality

Waterloo Regional Municipality in Southwestern Ontario is used to examine the consideration of women and GM in local economic development and the roles of women in the local economic development policy community (see appendix B for a map of the region).²² In this region, the three adjoined cities of Kitchener, Waterloo and Cambridge economically and politically compete, collaborate, complement and conflict under a regional authority created by the provincial government in 1973. For the sake of familiarity, feasibility and the convenience of staying “in the field” for as long as possible, I compared the region in which I live to other possible cases and found it to be a more than adequate case study choice based both on its representativeness and its uniqueness as a medium-sized, well-to-do area, with high immigration, and good employment rates.

First, the representativeness of the area is based on the criterion of being a medium-sized regional municipality of approximately 500,000 people in Southwestern Ontario, the most densely populated part of Canada. It represents an average sized area between the many less populated, rural communities in Canada and the four largest cities of Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa. Second, like most Canadian regions,

²² Waterloo Regional Municipality includes the townships of Wilmot and Wellesley in addition to the Kitchener Census Metropolitan Area composed of the cities of Kitchener, Waterloo, and Cambridge, and the townships of North Dumfries and Woolwich.

Waterloo Region does not include a capital city. This is important because municipal leaders of capital cities may have closer relationships with provincial leaders due to their geographic proximity than most other cities. Third, the Kitchener Census Metropolitan Area, which includes all of Waterloo Region except for the townships of Wilmot and Wellesley, was the seventh fastest growing census metropolitan area in Canada between 2001 and 2006. The population growth rates in all of the Greater Golden Horseshoe²³ cities is due to an influx of international immigration that signifies the area's relevance in the geographical and political landscape of Ontario and Canada (Statistics Canada 2006).²⁴ As a popular settlement choice for immigrants, Waterloo Region also provides fertile ground to examine the gender and diversity debates that exist within GM theory. Fourth, like so many industrialized North American cities, the local economy is positioned between its historical base of a successful traditional and automotive manufacturing sector and the forces of the global economy on that economic base, and the knowledge economy with a growing high technology industry cluster. There are, however, two other city-regions in Southwestern Ontario that also fit these criteria of representativeness. These are Hamilton and London (see appendix C for comparisons of the Kitchener, Hamilton and London census metropolitan areas based on selected criteria).

²³ "Extending along the western end of Lake Ontario, the Greater Golden Horseshoe is both the most populous and the most heavily urbanized region in Canada. It is home to 8.1 million people, two-thirds of Ontarians and one-quarter of all Canadians. It contains nine of the country's 33 census metropolitan areas and many census agglomerations" (Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, *Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006* <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-550/p14-eng.cfm>).

²⁴ Statistics Canada 2006 Census of the Population: *Analysis Series: Population growth of census metropolitan areas, 1996 to 2001 and 2001 to 2006*. The Kitchener Census Metropolitan Area followed (1) Barrie Ontario, (2) Calgary Alberta, (3) Oshawa Ontario, (4) Edmonton Alberta, (5) Kelowna British Columbia, and (6) Toronto Ontario as the fastest growing census metropolitan areas between 2001 and 2006. (Statistics Canada 2006 Census of the Population: *Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006* <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-550/figures/c6-eng.cfm>)

Thus, Waterloo Region was selected as the case study area for its uniqueness and robust analytical potential. First, it is an interesting area to study the consideration of women and gender issues in local economic development policy-making because of the variation in the local political culture and economic development strategies among the three cities and regionally-based public-private partnerships. Second, despite their differences, the cities have regionally collaborated to create and market the region as a technology based economic entity self-labeled as Canada's Technology Triangle (CTT). Therefore, Waterloo Regional Municipality has received a growing amount of attention in the global-local paradox of the new economy literature in terms of its grassroots creation of CTT – an example of associative forms of governance, and its high technology ICT sector – a central tenet of the new economic order thesis (see chapter two; Andrew 1993; Moore Milroy 1996; Roy 1998, Leibovitz 2003; Bradford 2003; Bramwell, Nelles and Wolfe 2004). The public-private partnerships and the ICT industry cluster make Waterloo Region a relevant case study in the policy context of scalar devolution and the economic context of cities in the global economy.

The time frame of the study is roughly from 2000 to 2005 with some variation depending on the interviewees' length of time in their position and the two years during which the interviews took place between 2004 and 2006. The five years leading up to the interview period are used as the time frame for the case study because the research question is a current examination of how women and gender-based concerns are considered in local economic development policy-making. This is also a period of interest because it follows the incorporation of CTT in 1999, which marks the beginning of formalized collaboration amongst the municipalities and the regional government in

external investment attraction and the beginning of regionally-based strategic policy planning and coordination in local economic development.

Local economic development is used as the policy field to consider the treatment of women and gender issues in the case study because local policy-makers can directly affect the local labour market through their policy choices and thus, the available opportunities for women to access economic resources as an objective base of diverse women's empowerment vis-à-vis men. While many policy fields have important repercussions for women's well-being and empowerment, economic resources are conceptualized as the epitome of women's power in both the empowerment and intra-household bargaining models to enhance gender equality (Sen 1987; Agarwal 1995; Kabeer; 1999).

This thesis chiefly relies on interviews with twenty-five economic development policy community members to study if, when, and how women-based concerns and gender issues are considered in local economic development policy-making. An additional seven government and non-government research participants provided information by phone, email and in person on the development of economic and diversity strategies. By their request, all but one of the interviewees and research participants are presented according to an identification number. This thesis also employs research publications, economic profiles, minutes of meetings, policy statements, brochures, letters, multilateral contracts, and websites produced by the locally-based non-government organizations, public-private partnerships, municipalities and the regional government in addition to the interview data. I was unsuccessful in my attempt to observe the power relations and discourses among the municipal economic development officers

through a CTT advisory committee meeting, however, because the CTT representative felt that their privacy was imperative to facilitate an open and comfortable environment to share information.

There are four main objectives to gathering and analyzing interview data from the local economic development policy community. The first two objectives provide an understanding of Roggerband and Verloo's (2007) concepts of voice and gender in policy frame analysis. The first objective is to identify who was part of policy community and their roles in policy-making. I analyze these responses in terms of the gender composition and hierarchies of the policy community and to identify the key policy actors. The second objective of conducting interviews with the policy community members is to determine the openness and fluidity of the policy community to citizen engagement and women's organizations. Specifically, I look at how, when, and what types of public input were included in the policy-making process, and the mechanisms and extent to which advocacy groups such as labour, social planning, and women's organizations communicated with the policy community.

The third objective is to establish what economic development problems and issues were identified, how they were identified, by whom, and what were the proposed solutions and economic development strategies (i.e. diagnosis, prognosis, calls for action and voice). This part of the interviews allows me to analyze the socio-economic and political context of the cities as well as the dominant policy frames and discourses that were used by key policy actors to set the economic development agenda. Finally, the interviews serve to collect data on the implicit and explicit attention or ignorance of women-based concerns and gender issues and the extent to which resources are spent on

these issues. In particular, I asked policy community members how gender issues had been raised in their organizations, how they personally they felt about gender issues and about GBA specifically in economic development. These two objectives reveal the extent to which women and gender were considered in articulating economic development policy frames.

The interviews were conducted by myself and consisted of nineteen open-ended questions in a standardized format (see appendix C). The interview questions were emailed to participants prior to the scheduled interview. Therefore, a few respondents had read them and made notes before our face-to-face meeting. The interviewees were given an unlimited amount of time to answer each question, which meant that in a few cases, some questions had to be omitted for the sake of the interviewees' allotted time for the interview. In these cases, I skipped questions that had received the same answers from many respondents, ones that other interviewees did not spend a lot of time on, or ones that did not seem as relevant as other questions. For example, none of the interviewees had responded positively to the question of whether the federal or provincial governments had ever earmarked funds for GBA, so this question was omitted if time constraints were an issue. Most of the interviews lasted approximately one hour; however, one took only twenty-five minutes, while others went over the one hour mark.

The interviews took place during daytime working hours in the interviewees' office or in cafeterias and coffee shops according to the participants' preference. While many members of the policy community are public officials, all interview participants were offered anonymity if they chose, so that their personal views on women and gender issues

would not be revealed to fellow co-workers, supervisors, or other members of the policy community.

The process of identifying potential research participants began with a familiarization of the structure and organizations involved in the local economic development process in Waterloo Region by using the city and regional websites, articles from the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, and the local news channel. I then contacted and met with the market outreach liaison for CTT to gain a better sense of the history, actors, institutions, and processes of the local economic development policy community. The information gathered during this open-ended, semi-structured interview was used to create a more structured open-ended interview instrument and a list of potential interviewees from the economic development departments of the three municipalities, (namely the economic development directors and officers), the mayors and council members of the cities, the chief administrative officer, and chairperson of the region,²⁵ and employees at Communitech and the Kitchener-Waterloo and Cambridge Chambers of Commerce. At this point, I chose not to include the four small, rural townships in the region because they do not have economic development departments, leaving land development in the hands of their planning departments, and business relations to their Boards of Trade.

Twenty-seven potential research participants were identified at this stage and contacted by phone. If they agreed to participate in an interview I sent them an email consisting of an overview of the research, a formal request for an interview, the interview instrument, ethical considerations and permission forms. Subsequent phone calls and

²⁵ Regional Council members were not included in the interview sample because the Region of Waterloo had outsourced its involvement in economic development to CTT during the amalgamation debates of the late 1990s.

emails were sent to those who were away from the office and did not return messages or emails. Twenty-two of these core policy community members participated in an interview for a response rate of 81 percent.

An additional fifteen economic development policy community members, including private developers, private sector chief executive officers, presidents of post-secondary institutions, heads of non-government organizations, and further public servants were identified during the early interviews. One of these also provided an interview while another corresponded to particular questions by email without engaging in the full, standardized interview.

Therefore, thirteen targeted policy community members did not participate in the research by a formal interview or through any type of correspondence. Of these, two city councillors, one regional public servant, one labour union representative, and three members of the Chambers of Commerce were contacted but choose not to participate in the research interviews because they did not feel that they were involved in economic development enough to answer the interview questions. One university president and one municipal public servant declined to participate due to their schedules. Finally, four private sector chief executive officers and developers were unreachable due to the inability of obtaining contact information in light of privacy laws, or to return emails and telephone messages for those whom I could find contact information.²⁶ Therefore, the response rate from this second cohort of potential interviewees was only thirteen percent. In total, 65 percent of the local economic development policy community provided data for this thesis.

²⁶ Participating interviewees were also unable to provide contact information for private sector board of director members due to privacy laws.

Twenty-five policy community members provided full interviews which were audio-recorded except for one which was conducted by email. The twenty-four interviews that were audio-recorded were transcribed verbatim into a word processing program, stored digitally on two compact discs, and printed three times: once for analysis; once for participant feedback; and once for a backup copy.

Finally, five municipal bureaucrats and two heads of separate non-government organizations provided information by phone, email and in person to questions concerning grassroots economic development initiatives and diversity strategies. These were not audio-recorded but were summarized in written form and received feedback on the interpretation of their essential meanings by email. None of the interviewees identified any women's organizations that were involved in economic development save one mention of the local chapter of Digital Eve as a group that is often invited to social networking events among the high technology sector.

The interview sample is composed of twelve women and thirteen men including 100 percent of the municipal mayors and regional chairperson, municipal and regional chief administrative officers, municipal economic development directors, and four out of five senior executives of the economic development focused public-private partnerships. It also includes three mid-level staff of the public-private partnerships, all but one of the municipal economic development officers, and one volunteer. There are eleven interviewees representing regionally-based organizations, six representing the City of Kitchener, four representing the City of Waterloo, and four representing the City of Cambridge. Of the seven correspondents who provided additional information on grassroots initiatives, diversity strategies, and economic development strategies, four

were men from four different organizations representing the City of Cambridge, the City of Waterloo, a regional public-private partnership, and a locally-based community economic development organization; and three were women from the City of Kitchener.

The following table summarizes the interview sample by gender and type of organization.

Table 3.1: Summary of the Data Sample

Data Sample Characteristics	Totals
Expert Informants	32
Interviewees	25
Research participants	7
<hr/>	
Gender	
Female	15
Male	17
<hr/>	
Organizations	11
Government	4
Non-government	3
Public-private partnership	4

The interview sample consisted of able-bodied, adult, Caucasian, English-speaking Canadian, professionals with post-secondary education. While I did not ask the interviewees to report their incomes, they could be considered middle to upper-middle class using the City of Kitchener as an example. Interviewees from Kitchener earned more than \$30,000 annually, below which could be considered the working class (Thompson and Hickey 2005). The economic development officers earned close to \$48,000 and up to \$60,000 annually depending on a four step process and based on a 35 hour work week.²⁷ From here, salaries increased to approximately \$64,000 to \$80,000 for

²⁷ 2005-2008 Collective Agreement between the Corporation of the City of Kitchener and Kitchener City Hall Office, Clerical and Technical Staff and Salary Table

an urban investment advisor,²⁸ \$80,786.10 for the mayor of Kitchener, \$122,336.92 for the director of project administration and economic investment; \$124,743.28 for the economic development director of Kitchener; and \$187,071.52 for the chief administrative officer of Kitchener in 2008.²⁹ Lastly, almost a third of the twenty-five interviewees had recently moved to Waterloo Region from other cities in Canada for their occupational post in the policy community. Therefore, there was little diversity among the interview sample besides gender differences and region of origin. Sexual orientation, political views and religious affiliation of the interviewees were not asked. It can be assumed then, that the power advantage between researcher and participants lay in the hands of the older, professional, expert, and accomplished interviewees relative to me, a graduate student who was asking them to volunteer their professional time for the benefit of my academic career. The most common differences between me and the interview respondents were age, professional experience and in almost half the cases, gender. Therefore, language, class, and ethnicity, between me and the interview sample as well as among the interview sample were minimized – an indication perhaps of why the policy community focused on cultural-ethnic diversity. Of course, these similarities do not rule out the necessity of creating a comfortable atmosphere during the interviews for participants to openly share information.

I began each interview with an introduction of myself based on the principle of

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Salary of the Mayor of Kitchener 2008: Saleh Saleh, (Senior Financial Analyst of the City of

Kitchener), *Statement of Remuneration and Expenses (2008)* March 25, 2009

http://www.kitchener.ca/Files/Item/item16094_fin-09-038_-statement_of_remuneration_and_expenses_2008.pdf

Salary for the chief administrative officer of Kitchener, the project administration and economic investment director and the economic development director of Kitchener in 2008 made available by the City of Kitchener according to the Public Salary Disclosure Act:

http://www.kitchener.ca/city_hall/public_sector_salary_disclosure.htm

“intersubjectivity” (Wolf 1996:5) in order to create a comfortable and open atmosphere for the research participants. This exercise included sharing my experiences in relation to the research project and served as an exchange of vulnerability. Not only was I asking the participants to share personal information with me but I was also exchanging my background information with them in terms of how I arrived at this particular research project and my objectives for the completed research. If not already made clear through the contact information and introduction, then my commitment to improving gender equality was clearly stated during the process of intersubjectivity. In most cases, interviewees who shared feminist beliefs also stated them during this introductory exchange.

During the interview process I utilized my background in social work and specifically training in conducting interviews to gain a mutual understanding by continually re-interpreting the interviewees’ responses. The interviews proceeded in a conversational style of dialogue to gain a mutual understanding of the policy-making process, as well as allowing myself and the interviewee to show emotions and to provide feedback on my interpretations of their responses.

Since the interviewees were acting in their professional capacity, they were understandably polite, cooperative, and generous of their time and efforts. Five interviewees were excited about the interview topic and the prospect of considering women and gender in economic development policy-making. These interviewees also expressed women-based concerns and gender issues that they already held before the interviews and that they were trying to get onto the policy agenda. These interviewees are

identified in the presentation of the case study results as: 1, 5, 7, 8, and 19.³⁰ They are also the only five interviewees labeled as having a gender lens and as being norm entrepreneurs.

Twelve interviewees showed a genuine interest in the interview process and women-based concerns, although they did not display the same level of excitement, personal feminist convictions, or have a women or gender-based agenda as the gender lens interviewees. Interviewees 3, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, and 24 provided interviews that were over an hour long, reflective, descriptive, and initiated further questions of gender issues and GM in other contexts.

A third category of the interviewees' reactions to me, the interview topic and the interview process are those interviewees who generously provided their time to the interview process but were either not engaged with or excited by the gender-based focus of the interview questions and therefore, less likely to give reflective, critical, or descriptive responses regarding the treatment of women and gender-based issues specifically, although they did spend a fair amount of time describing the economic development process and policy community. Interviewees 2 and 6 fall into this category.

Similarly, another group of interviewees devoted a fair amount of time to the interview process and they discussed the treatment of women and gender issues in local economic development. Their tone, the number of times they addressed me by name in their responses ("So, Rebecca, you see..."), or their claim of being "gender blind," however, left me with a sense that interviewees 4, 10, and 11 provided lengthy interviews

³⁰ Interviewees 1, 5, 7, 8, and 19 refer to five individual interviewees. Each interviewee and research participant is presented in the research according to a randomly assigned number in order to provide anonymity and confidentiality. Therefore, interviewee 1 refers to one particular interviewee throughout the research. See appendix D for a description of the interviewees and research participants.

to me according to their political and professional duties but that they were not personally effected or challenged by the process.

Lastly, interviewees 13 and 25 provided short, simple, and straightforward responses that added little description and explanation of the economic development processes, policy community or discourses, and nothing to the treatment of women-based concerns and gender issues other than to say that it has never been raised as an issue. One of these was the interview by email and the other was the only face-to-face interview to take less than half an hour. Thus, their gender lens is described as *unknown*.

Each of the full interview participants were assigned a random number between one and 25 followed by a code for the occupational title according to seniority: SE for a senior executive of a non-government organization or public-private partnership; MLS for mid-level staff of a non-government organization or public-private partnership; SP for senior politicians; SPA for senior public administrator (economic development directors and chief administrative officers); MPA for mid-level public administrators (economic development officers or mid-level managers); and V for volunteer. The occupational codes were used to identify inter- and intra- organizational relationships and hierarchies during the interview data analysis; however, they are not included in the final presentation of the results to provide the interviewees with anonymity. Likewise, the policy community research participants were assigned identification numbers from 26 to 31 with the 32nd expert informant, Paul Born of the non-government organization Tamarack, agreeing to be identified.

Nine interview data analysis steps were taken to ensure reflectivity, transparency, and rigor of the qualitative interpretations. At least five sets of data tables were made of

full or partial verbatim responses, which served to continually familiarize and refer me back to the interviews and the interviewees. The first step in the data analysis was to take notes immediately after the interviews ended on the interviewees' receptiveness to me and to the research topic. These notes included their level of eye contact and physical body language (for example, were they fully focused and engaged in the interview or were they doodling or otherwise distracted while giving responses), the time spent on the interview, the extent to which they elaborated on interview questions and whether those elaborations concerned economic development or women, gender, or diversity issues specifically, how comfortable they were in discussing gender issues or feminist beliefs, and whether their good-bye was abrupt, led into more personal conversation, or stated some reflective consciousness-raising or excitement over the results of the research. These notes were used to categorize the interviewees' receptiveness and reactions to me discussed above, and to inform my categorization of the interviewees' position on a continuum of adopting a gender lens.

The second data analysis step was to transcribe the audio recorded interviews. The full interviews were transcribed verbatim so that the interviewees' could speak in the analysis and presentation of the results as often as possible. Third, the verbatim interview responses were separated according to the interviewees' occupational level and organization type. This was the first attempt at grouping the data by responses. This step allowed me to have another reading to familiarize myself with the interview data, and to compare the interview responses according to occupational level and organizational affiliation. This resulted in three files that included all of the interviewees' responses organized by question for: 1) all members of public-private partnerships and non-

government organizations (the senior executives and mid-level staff); 2) all public administrators (senior public administrators and mid-level public administrators); and 3) all senior politicians. At this time I found that some of the preconceived categories that I thought would be mentioned during the interviews were less relevant, specifically budget constraints and geographical jurisdictions; while new categories emerged from the data, namely local relations among community partners and local identity.

Fourth, each interviewee's full response to each question were cut and paste from the original transcribed interviews (not from the first set of tables) into a table made for each interview question, whether they were a page long or a one word answer. In a separate column beside the verbatim response, I summarized the longer responses and identified keywords that conveyed the essence of the response. This step involved creating more tables than interview questions because new questions arose during the interview dialogue, and because some answers were so lengthy and extensive that they required their own tables with a sub-heading. For example, a table was created for the interview question "Whose idea was that?" in regards to discussing particular economic development initiatives and projects even though that question was not part of the initial interview instrument. It did, however, arise often during the course of the interviews as I realized that by identifying who was able to effectively put economic development ideas onto the economic development agenda and into action, I was identifying a source of influence, voice, and a policy community member who could be instrumental in getting women-based concerns and gender issues considered in local economic development policy-making. Also, the lengthy and extensive content of some questions such as the second interview question: *How would you describe the relationships between your office*

and other local actors, such as the chief administrative officers and economic development departments of the other cities of Canada's Technology Triangle, the Region of Waterloo, the private sector, and economic development non-profit organizations (i.e. CTT, Communitech, Chambers of Commerce), resulted in four tables with the subheadings: 1) the formal policy process; 2) local partnerships and collaboration; 3) local partnerships and collaboration with CTT; and 4) local partnerships and collaboration with Communitech.

These tables were then grouped together according to elements of the literature review that I used to examine the treatment of women and gender in local economic development policy-making. This resulted in nineteen data analysis tables as listed below.

Table 3.2: List of Interview Data Analyses Tables

No. of Tables	Interview Questions and Order on Interview Instrument	Organization of Data and Title of Tables <i>Local Power Relations</i>
1	<i>1. How would you describe your level of input into local economic development policy-making?</i>	Level of Input
2	<i>4. Who would you identify as key actors (public and private) who are consistently involved in local economic development planning, decision-making and setting the economic development agenda?</i>	Influential actors
3	<i>"Whose idea was that?"</i>	Source of ideas
	<i>7. To what extent would you say local labour groups, social planning groups or other social movement organizations are involved in setting the economic development agenda or providing input or feedback to economic development policy?</i>	Involvement of labour groups, social planning groups or other social movement organizations
4	<i>8. Who are you surprised not to see involved or represented in the local economic development policy process?</i>	Who's not involved
5	<i>9. How does your office engage with the local citizenry in economic development policy planning or implementation?</i>	Citizen engagement

Policy Community And Process		
6	<i>Question 1.</i>	Formal policy-making process
7	3. How would you describe the relationships between your office and other local actors, such as the chief administrative officers and economic development departments of the other cities of Canada's Technology Triangle, the Region of Waterloo, the private sector, and economic development non-profit organizations (i.e. CTT, Communitech, Chambers of Commerce)?	Local partnerships and collaboration
8		Public-private partnerships with Communitech
9		Public-private partnerships with CTT
10	1. How would you describe the relationship between your office and the regional, provincial and federal levels of government? Are there any particular departments in the other levels of government that your office works closely with? 2. What sort of power or control do other levels of government exert on your office?	Jurisdictional boundaries: local, regional, provincial, and federal roles
Economic Development Issues and Ideologies: Social, Economic and Political Milieu		
11	2. What have been the main issues that you've supported in local economic development policy over the last decade?	Economic development issues, strategies and discursive themes
12		Presence of expert voices, ideas, and ideological sources
Women and Gender Analysis in Local Economic Development		
13	10. How have gender considerations been raised, addressed or analyzed in your organization as they relate to economic development policy initiatives?	Current practice of gender analysis in local economic development
14		Outreach to women and women's groups
15	7. To what extent would you say women are involved in setting the economic development agenda or providing input or feedback to economic development policy? Please consider the political process, multi-actor partnerships, and public administration separately.	Role of women in local economic development
16	11. Has your organization collected or used existing gender-disaggregated statistics to inform policy analysis or policy proposals?	Collection of gender-disaggregated statistics
17	3. Has the federal or provincial government ever required GBA for funding of initiatives?	Provincial or federal mandates or earmarking funds for GBA

18	<i>"So, do you think there is a role for GBA at the local level?"</i>	Reactions and responses to GBA
19	At any point during the interview	Reaction and responses to gender and diversity issues

Since most of the interviewees replied negatively to the questions of whether gender considerations had been raised, addressed or analyzed in the interviewee's organization in relation to economic development policy initiatives and whether gender-disaggregated statistics had ever been collected, five follow up questions to these did not warrant the creation of tables because they were often omitted from the interviews. These questions were: 1) who conducted the gender analysis; 2) how was it funded and resourced; 3) has your office used existing GBA studies in policy planning and if so, which studies were utilized; 4) what is the general response or reaction to any gender concerns that have been raised within or outside of your organization as they relate to economic development projects; and 5) what sorts of actions have been taken in response to gender concerns and gender studies?

The fifth level of analysis included extracting keywords from the nineteen interview tables to create categories by their frequency of use and similar meanings. Sixth, these keywords were used to label categories that were sometimes quantitative and sometimes descriptive. For example, in the *Source of ideas* and *Influential actors* tables, I counted the number of times specific individuals were mentioned by the interviewees. I then examined the identified policy actors by their gender, occupation, seniority, organization and public or private sector membership in the policy community. In other cases, such as in the interviewees' descriptions of their own levels of input I used keywords such as "low", "high" and "very high" to create a scale of self-reported influence because these words were used most frequently by the interviewees as opposed

to weak, strong or similar descriptions. This step serves as a source of triangulation of the interview data to compare the responses amongst the interviewees in order to provide a less biased description of the policy community, policy-making process, and the treatment of women and gender within it. For example, one mid-level public administrator felt that she did not have a role in policy-making; however, other mid-level public administrators felt that they did, so I cannot infer that mid-level public administrators do not influence policies based on one interviewees' self-reported level of influence without comparing her response to what other mid-level public administrators said. I can, however, examine other contextual factors surrounding this one mid-level public administrator to see why she reported a lower level of input than her colleagues in the other city cases.

To recapitulate the interview data analysis up to this point, I: 1) noted the interviewees' reactions to me and the interview process; and then 2) transcribed, 3) organized, 4) summarized, 5) identified keywords, and 6) labeled categories of input levels, idea originators, key actors, economic development issues, strategies, discursive themes, gender attitudes, and so on from the interview data. The following table provides an example of the analysis steps for the first interview question concerning how the interviewees described their level of input in local economic development policy-making.

Table 3.3: Example of Interview Data Analyses

Interview Question: <i>How would you describe your level of input into local economic development policy-making?</i>			
Levels 2 and 3 Analysis: Transcribed Interviews and organized responses into tables according to elements from the literature review.	Level 4 Analysis: Summary and Interpretation of Input Level	Level 5 Analysis: Key Words Conveying Role Description	Level 6 Analysis: Category Label: Scale of Low to Very High
ID15: "I'm not really involved in policy development form	Not really involved in	"not really involved in policy	Low – implementation

<p>that perspective in terms of analysis. Maybe we do, I'm sometimes involved in better understanding the impacts of developing an industrial park. I would research potential members... So part of my job is to be aware of what we have to offer, essentially a community profile, the labour force, to understand our strengths and weaknesses... Staff is more of a resource."</p>	<p>policy-making, more hands on work Includes knowledge and promotion of area to attract external investment. Sees position more as a policy implementer than policy maker</p>	<p>"development" "industrial park ...research" "community profile" Knowing "strengths and weaknesses" Sees position as "resource"</p>	<p>and information gatherer and disseminator role</p>
<p>ID 16: "I would say it's medium to high... The things that I've got involved in... I played a key role on bring the park to fruition... So the development of financing, marketing strategy, managing the business strategy, purchase the land, zoning ... I was project manager on that... And then there's a Regional Industrial Land Bank... we played a key role to make sure that they're adhering to what we agreed..."</p>	<p>"medium to high" "project manager" of business park development Ensuring collaboration w/regional partners Sees position as in charge, playing "key role[s]" along with others</p>	<p>"medium to high" "financing" "marketing" "managing" "project manager" "we played a key role" (not "I")</p>	<p>Medium - implementation, information, management and collaboration role. Judgment call on my part to error on the lower side of 'High' based on interviewee's more humble demeanor during interview than interviewees who classified their input as "high" E.g. using "we" instead of "I"</p>
<p>ID 20: "At this level which is sort of the middle level... we've got input into local polices ...because for the most part the teams are fairly small at all the municipalities... So we do have considerable input... the middle level gets involved on a project basis... I've done a lot because we have such a small team here, I spend a lot of time doing data collection and management, business information, that kind of stuff... In my case... it's</p>	<p>Sees position as "middle level" with "considerable input" on "project basis" Also has "done a lot" of work as part of a "team" in the economic development office</p>	<p>"considerable input" "middle level" "project basis" "team" discourse "data collection and management"</p>	<p>High – implementation, information management, setting direction of strategies</p>

[the] business directory, community profile and development handbook, it's Film KW, it's Business Investment Strategy... then I'll ...determine what the time lines are going to be ... and see how it goes with everyone else's work plans..."			
ID 17: "So the level of input I would say from local economic development people... is very, very, very high... economic development officers potentially have a very high level because they're often the ones doing the leg work... and the research and whatever they end up coming up with is kind of what the director and the chief administrative officer end up moving forward with very often... I think the level of input is very high because ...we're the ones leading the policy or the ones that bring up something as an issue..."	<p>"very, very, very high" level of input Do the "leg work" and research</p> <p>Mid-level public administrators identify issues and bring them to the attention of senior public administrators</p> <p>"leading the policy" and identifying issues to chief administrative officers</p>	<p>"leg work" "research" "leading the policy"</p>	<p>Very high – leading policy by doing research and identifying issues and bringing those to the attention of chief administrative officers</p>

The seventh step in the analysis was to write a draft of the interview data according to the tables, keywords and categorizations to consider the impacts of gender, occupation, seniority, organization, sector, and gender lenses of the interviewees from the responses.

The gender lenses of the interviewees were derived from two interview questions: "*To what extent would you say women are involved in setting the economic development agenda or providing input or feedback to economic development policy?*" and "*How have gender considerations been raised, addressed or analyzed in your organization as*

they relate to economic development policy initiatives?" The description of the interviewees' gender lenses was based on how well their responses to the former question matched the occupational segregation of the policy community and in comparison with other interviewees' responses; and how they responded to the latter question in terms of whether they had ever considered gender issues in economic development before, whether they thought gender issues were relevant to their organizations' goals and to local economic development, and whether they approached their work in local economic development from a perspective that economic development influences gender differences and vice-versa. The following table identifies the interviewees' gender lenses and provides examples of definitive quotes in determining the gender lens categories.

Table 3.4: Interviewees' Gender Lenses

Interview IDs:	Gender Lens	Description and Example from Interview Data
Interviewee 2	Gender Unaware	<p>Never considered gender issues before</p> <p>Quote: <i>"It's interesting. It's nothing that I've ever thought of before... it's just literally something that had never come up before and I had never really thought of"</i> (2)</p>
Interviewees 3 and 16	Increasing Gender Awareness	<p>Never considered gender issues before doing interviews</p> <p>Quotes: <i>"It kind of opened my eyes to the imbalance... once I started looking at the boards' [of directors] concentrations of all those organizations, I think that raises a red flag"</i> (16).</p> <p><i>"I don't think we've ever broken it down to say men and women are different. I think if anything, we've tried to say it's an employee, or it's a company, or you're a leader, not a female leader or male leader. I'm not sure. That would be kind of interesting to see. It's a good question... When I look at the councillors, or people who are developing policy within the areas, the lack of women in it that kind of concerns me... I like to think that women would bring in a different perspective"</i> (3).</p>
Interviewees 9,	Gender lens unknown	<p>No feelings on gender issues revealed during interviews</p> <p>Quote:</p>

13, 24, and 25		<p><i>"I don't know what the applicability would be to economic development since we don't do economic development policy here"</i> (13).</p>
Interviewees 6, 10, 15, 17, and 20	Gender Irrelevant to Economic Development	<p>Gender inequalities exist but they are irrelevant to economic development</p> <p>Quotes:</p> <p><i>"Largely, it isn't pertinent. In eight years, I've never been asked to break any of those [statistics] down by gender...It doesn't matter if it's a man running a company or the types of jobs that want to come in, whether they are for men or women, we don't get involved in those kind of [things]...they don't come into consideration"</i> (20).</p> <p><i>"It's not been identified as an issue and I don't recall anything that's required gender analysis or anything of that nature"</i> (17).</p>
Interviewees 4, 11, 12, 14, and 22	Equal opportunist	<p>Gender equality is important but gender is no longer an issue because systemic discrimination has been eliminated by human rights statutes. Women are in the positions they are because of individual preference.</p> <p>Quotes:</p> <p><i>"When we hired the chief administrative officer, someone made the comment, 'Oh, we're hiring a woman?' and I said, 'Oh, yeah, I guess we are.' It didn't strike me. We were concentrating on who was the best qualified for the job. It hasn't been a major issue for me at all... I think it's important though that we do have a balance now that women have entered the upper echelons that we don't tip the balance the other way. There's benefits to getting both perspectives... Our council is under-represented [in terms of female representation]. It always has been. There's not an awful lot I can do about that. It's who runs and what the public says</i> (11).</p> <p><i>"No, [gender considerations have not been raised] at all. I don't think in those terms. I just sort of work with people"</i> (12)</p> <p><i>"I know some of the women who have over the years gone into politics; they said they just couldn't stand by and see an all male Council... Although I'm not crying the blues and saying we don't have enough women"</i> (14).</p> <p><i>"I think the representation [of women] in economic development is pretty good. Having said that if I look at the</i></p>

		<i>composition of the board at CTT it's definitely male-dominated but that could be for a number of reasons. It could be that... they just didn't have enough women expressing interest" (22)</i>
Interviewees 18, 21, and 23	Diversity Lens	<p>Gender inequalities are only one part of a greater concern for diversity</p> <p>Quotes:</p> <p><i>We've got a diverse multi-cultural society so it only makes sense whether its economic development or any other community engagement process, for us to be successful we need cultural diversity, we need gender diversity, we need age diversity within our various committees because we're richer for it (23).</i></p> <p><i>"Gender issues have been well discussed many years ago in local government... initiatives by past provincial governments to require employment equity plans ... really didn't work very well ... within local government specifically...It's not just gender. ... We support the race relations program for instance through the local Y/[MCA]... It's not just gender-based concerns" (21).</i></p> <p><i>"Gender issues are wrapped up into this larger bundle of issues of culture and diversity" (18)</i></p>
Interviewees 1, 5, 7, 8, and 19	Gender Lens	<p>Unequal power relations are embedded in institutions so that gender inequalities exist in our attitudes and organizations</p> <p>Quotes:</p> <p><i>"We're very aware that women in particular can fall through the cracks as far as training opportunities go...I'm hoping in the next six months ... we might see some additional action and initiatives identified around gender specific stuff" (5).</i></p> <p><i>"I'm glad to do this interview! ...I have been much more vocal probably in the last five years... I spend a lot of time... with women who are either in their thirties or forties and I'm hearing how frustrated they are... I look at all these very talented women I know and I'm seeing that... in some cases they're getting less opportunities than I had when I was in my thirties... with CTT, I've been asking the question as long as its existed ... she was on for one year, but since then there's only been men on the CTT's board, which really looks at economic policy for the entire region... And even today you still get, 'Well, if we could find one.'... There's just not that recognition of women</i></p>

	<p><i>being important in the community... No one would be so stupid as to say 'it's because they're women' but there's always a reason. ...For example, the Chamber has probably in the last ten years had the opportunity to elect four female senior staff people and we knew that it was always going to be a male. We knew that if a woman applied she wouldn't end up in the position. Communitech has had 3 and the last time I knew they wouldn't get the job. Not because they weren't qualified but just because the culture is that it would be a guy... I've heard ... '[there are] no women who are chief executive officers so we can't pick chief executive officers who are women' but then I look around the board and they're not all chief executive officers, they're law partners, accounting partners, bankers, all of which at the senior level there are women in this community. So if the issue is that you can't find enough women or chief executive officers ...then don't pick men specifically from the service sector; pick women" (8).</i></p> <p><i>"Now of course, from a gender issue perspective, we do have an interest in this of course because there's no women in a leadership role in technology companies by and large, with few exceptions. So we promote everything from skilled trades...to women in non-traditional occupations technology, engineering, mathematics ... So we work hard to understand what the issues are as to why women are not in leadership positions. A lot of modeling, a lot of it is historical, a lot of it is that people that run technology companies tend to be engineers and women are always underrepresented in engineering faculties in the past... enrollment in engineering among women is actually taking a big nose dive right now. It's a huge issue... As much as people have been doing it for years, we still need to do it... We work very hard to recruit women to our board... We can show people that women can be effective and successful chief executive officers so we do that by putting them on our board" (1)</i></p>
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The major differences between the interviewees' gender lenses in terms of their views on women-based concerns, gender issues, and how they relate to diversity are summarized in the following table.

Table 3.5: The Differences between Interviewees' Gender Lenses

Gender Lens:	Gender inequalities ...
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Gender	Are reproduced through systemic discrimination, organizational culture, and personal attitudes.
Diversity	Are a result of past gender discrimination.
Irrelevant to ED	Are not relevant to economic development
Equal Opportunists	Are a result of individual preference.
Increasing Awareness	Unknown barriers may exist for women entrepreneurs.

Gender Lens:	<i>Gender-disaggregated data and research ...</i>
Gender	Is required to achieve gender equality.
Diversity	Could help achieve diversity in the workplace.
Irrelevant to ED	Requires time, money and staff resources and are not in demand for economic development
Equal Opportunists	Are probably not warranted in economic development
Increasing Awareness	Could show us inequalities or imbalances that we didn't even know existed before.

Gender Lens:	<i>Women add a different perspective to male-dominated arenas...</i>
Gender	Often because of gender role socialization.
Diversity	Gender is just one component of many diversity issues in achieving equality.
Irrelevant to ED	Yes, we could use more women on decision-making bodies but they are too busy.
Equal Opportunists	People are appointed or hired based on their merit; and many women have held leadership positions in the community, especially in the public administration.
Increasing Awareness	"I like to think that women bring in a different perspective." (interviewee 3)

Gender Lens:	<i>Women are under-represented on local decision-making bodies in proportion to their population...</i>
Gender	And it is not only due to the fact that there are few female chief executive officers; there is an 'old boys' network that unconsciously excludes women in other senior positions
Diversity	We need all sectors and demographics to be represented, however.
Irrelevant to ED	That may be due to a number of reasons, however, such as women have more family demands, which makes a work-life balance harder to achieve, or women are less interested in economic development; and also the positions on boards of directors are held for people holding specific posts in other organizations (i.e. presidents and chief executive officers).
Equal Opportunists	And over-represented on the "front lines" as economic development officers. That is concerning.
Increasing Awareness	

At this point I triangulated the interviewees' accounts of economic development issues, strategies and discourses with newspaper articles from 2003 up to 2006 to compare the interviewees' recall of events with the accounts of others; and documents and publications from the policy community organizations to compare individual discourses with the policy community's dominant discourses. This was the first attempt to extrapolate some preliminary findings from the data and consider the case study in the context of Sidney Tarrow's (1998) political process approach, which includes strategic framing in social movement theory and which is used by Beveridge, Nott, and Stephen (2000); Pollack and Hafner-Burton (2000); and Verloo (2001) to explain adoptions of GM. I found it to be unsuitable for this case study where there has not been a GM policy adoption; nor were there any GM activists, allied elites, or mobilizing networks to constitute a GM social movement in Waterloo Region.

The next step then was to identify the economic development policy frames that occurred throughout the interviews and policy texts but particularly in response to the interview question: *What have been the main issues that you've supported in local economic development policy over the last decade*, which resulted in two tables: 1) the economic development issues, strategies and discursive themes; and 2) the presence of expert voices, ideas, and ideological sources. The economic development policy frames were defined by keywords that were repeatedly emphasized by the policy community and that resonated with the multi-scalar governmental priorities and literature on local economic development. The keywords listed in Graph 3.1 (page 97) were found in newspaper interviews with policy community members, economic development strategies

and other documents published by the municipal departments and public-private partnerships, and the interviews conducted by myself.

In step nine of the interview data analysis, I grouped the interviewees by their assigned gender lens into one table that summarized each of their responses to the interview questions in one or two words to identify the similarities and differences among the policy community members. The purpose of this was to see if for example, one's occupational position in the policy community was correlated to their identification of the economic development issues and strategies, their use of specific economic development discourses and policy frames, and their views toward women and gender issues in economic development. The interviewees were then labeled as norm entrepreneurs (Elgstrom 2000); diversity supporters; or equal opportunists to describe their general outlook on how women and gender issues fit into the local economic development policy community and policy-making process according to their gender lens, how vocal they were in expressing their ideas, how open and inclusive they felt the economic development policy community was, how they viewed women's roles in the policy community, where they saw power in the policy community, their use of dominant, critical or alternative discourses, how their organizations dealt with gender and diversity concerns, whether their organizations collected gender-disaggregated data, and their actions according to the interview samples' responses. Two interviewees were moved from the diversity to the equal opportunists category after double checking their categorizations against the full interview transcripts; while two others were moved from the equal opportunists to the diversity supporter frame. The following table summarizes the views of norm entrepreneurs, diversity, and equal opportunists.

Table 3.6: The Interview Sample's Gender Equality Frames

Gender Equality Frame	Total	Interviewees' IDs
Norm entrepreneurs	5	1, 5, 7, 8, and 19
Problem Definition:		
Traditional gender roles and systemic discrimination create gender inequalities based on power differences; culture of an old boy's network perpetuates gender-based discrimination		
Solution:		
Use a gender lens in economic development Strategies of reversal		
Roles:		
See power in the hands of entrepreneurs, mayors and councils Organizations deal with gender or diversity issues See a purpose for and collect gender-disaggregated data when feasible Mostly located in the peripheral organizations except for one interviewee		
Calls for Action:		
“Modeling the way”, changing institutional rules and norms, including more women on decision-making bodies Speak their minds Push others in the policy community to open minds Push the policy agenda where women and gender are concerned by negotiating, bargaining and introducing new concepts and theories to the policy community such as the creative class strategy See a need in the policy community and process for others' voices, especially more women		
Diversity Supporters	5	11, 18, 21, 22, and 23 ³¹
Problem Definition:		
Gender-based discrimination does not exist. Other demographics need to be addressed by inclusionary measures. Split between thinking the policy community is inclusive and that more “qualified women”; “labour”; and “average citizens” could play a larger role		
Solution:		
Use a diversity lens or an equal opportunity lens. Favour diversity analysis over gender analysis – gender is a passé issue Strategies of inclusion		
Roles:		
See power dispersed throughout policy community: mayors and council, private sector,		

³¹ Although interviewees 11 and 22 displayed an equal opportunist gender lens during their individual interviews, they are classified as diversity supporters either for insisting that other factors, such as age, ethnicity, religion or cultural diversity be considered in addition to gender in policy-making, or for their strong support or instrumental role in a diversity strategy in the policy community according to the research participants.

CTT, public administration, universities Mostly located in municipal government except for two interviewees More likely to see women as playing roles beyond public administration, in political process and private sector Calls for Action: Organizations addressing diversity issues; need more diversity on decision-making bodies	Equal Opportunists	15	2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 24, and 25
Problem Definition: Equality of opportunity exists for women but women are too busy to engage in economic development or they are not interested in it; or never considered gender issues in economic development or gender imbalances in the policy community before doing interviews for this thesis			

Solution:
Feel the policy community is inclusive, no one is left out, except for interviewee 20 who thought more women and labour could be involved

Strategy of inclusion

Roles:
Sees power as mostly in the hands of mayors and councils, private sector, and senior public administration

Mostly located in municipal and regional governments except for three interviewees

Calls for Action:
Need more women on decision-making bodies

Finally, I emailed, mailed and hand delivered hard copies of the individual interviews transcribed verbatim, a summary of the thesis chapters and the results to twenty-three of the twenty-five interviewees. Eight interviewees and one research participant left the policy community by August 2009. Three of these interviewees had not left their former organizations a forwarding address. Only one interviewee responded by email that he was unsatisfied with the preliminary results and did not see how I had drawn my conclusions. Five out of the seven research participants, including one who had left the policy community, adjusted and confirmed my written interpretation of their responses by email.

7. Summary

In summary, this thesis is primarily concerned with the empowerment of diverse women in Canada and particularly with the question of how the treatment of women-based issues and gender concerns in local economic development policy-making affect the institutional rules and norms that are conceptualized as part of the objective bases of women's empowerment. It uses the policy tool of GM to signify the apex of considering women and gender-based issues by local policy-makers and based on other studies, suggests that women-based concerns and gender issues are more likely to be considered by policy-makers if they can be strategically framed to resonate with the dominant economic development policy frames. Waterloo Region, in southwest Ontario provides a comparative study of four cases of economic development policy-making within one regionally-based policy community. Attention is paid to identifying the dominant and minor economic development policy frames and discourses through interviews with the policy community members and policy texts produced by the policy community organizations according to a cultural political economy approach that embeds structural and cultural factors to explain social phenomena. The traditional economic development, entrepreneurial cities, and sustainability policy frames are particularly informed by how the interviewees described the economic development issues they have supported between 2000 and 2005, as well as by newspaper interviews and public speeches provided by key policy actors from the private sector who were identified by the interviewees but who did not participate in interviews for this thesis.

The gender equality frames of norm entrepreneurs, diversity supporters, and equal opportunists were created to describe how the interviewees viewed women-based

concerns and gender issues in terms of problem definitions, solutions; roles, and calls for action. The data analysis and findings are presented in the following three chapters devoted to the regional partnerships, the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo, and the City of Cambridge. These chapters show how: 1) private sector actors mobilized multi-scalar partnerships to pursue economic development strategies according to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame; 2) an economic-environmental sustainability crisis led to a paradigm and policy shift in Kitchener-Waterloo from traditional economic development to the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame (rather than a sustainability policy frame); and 3) conversely, in the absence of a sustainability crises, the City of Cambridge continued to pursue traditional economic development in a business as usual manner.

CHAPTER 4: The Waterloo Regional Policy Community

1. Introduction:

So far this thesis has argued that: 1) local economic development policy-making affects local labour markets, which in turn shape the opportunities for women's empowerment through their access to earnings; 2) local economic development policies are not gender neutral but instead they are socially constructed by powerful local actors with gender impacts that are materially reproduced through institutions and processes; 3) the construction of local economic development strategies and their unexamined gendered and racialized undertones can be studied through a cultural political economy approach to policy communities; and 4) women and gender issues can be strategically framed to resonate with dominant economic development policy frames for greater political acceptance. The purpose of this and the following chapters is to identify how the dominant economic development policy frames affect the conditions under which women-based concerns and unequal gender relations are (or are not) considered in local economic development through a case study of the Region of Waterloo in Ontario Canada.

This chapter first introduces Waterloo Region and the organizations and actors in the regional economic development policy community. It then examines the “processes of informal coalition-building between key individuals working across and above formal institutions and traditional organizational divisions” (Dannestam 2008:366) and the material outcomes of associative governance structures and public-private partnerships within the Waterloo Region economic development policy community. In doing so, this chapter shows how powerful private sector actors mobilized regionally-based

entrepreneurial cities discourse coalitions in response to an environmental sustainability crisis. Second, it suggests that the entrepreneurial cities policy frame was spread horizontally through policy networks to executive decision-makers who then transmitted the discourses downwards through their bureaucracies so that policy community members in mid-level occupations held less of an entrepreneurial cities policy frame in comparison with the traditional economic development policy frame. Third, four out of the five norm entrepreneurs in the policy community were employed in the regionally-based public-private partnerships and adhered to the entrepreneurial cities discourse either by celebrating local entrepreneurship based on the Mennonite work ethic to build endogenous industry clusters, or by using Florida's creative class indices as a means to introducing diversity and quality of life discourses into the policy community. For the most part, however, the norm entrepreneurs advocated gender and diversity equality through interpersonal relations in the policy community rather than at an institutional or organizational level. Fourth, the policy community members who held an equal opportunity gender frame also discussed the entrepreneurial cities policy frame as a consequence of being part of the regional public-private partnerships; however, they were more likely to emphasize traditional economic development factors and functions than norm entrepreneurs, who rarely used the traditional economic development policy frame.

Finally, the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN) stands out as a collaborative public-private partnership that has brought together business and social agency leaders to address the diversity and labour market inclusion of immigrants in the region. This chapter suggests that WRIEN's success is partly due to the policy community elites' adherence to the entrepreneurial cities policy frames as community

economic development organizations were able to strategically frame diversity and diverse women to resonate with the quality of life aspect of the creative cities discourse and in light of multi-scalar government priorities on economic inclusion of skilled immigrants. Therefore, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame opened a discursive space to consider diversity and social inclusion in the labour market to improve the attractiveness of the community at large. As a result this chapter argues that the more that the entrepreneurial cities discourses were adopted, the reasons for keeping social and economic issues separate became less clear and the more the silos between economic and social functions were broken down as seen in the case of WRIEN. In other words, while proponents of the sustainability policy frame suggest that the quality of life and livability discourse found in the entrepreneurial cities policy frame are not adequate replacements for social reproduction (see chapter two), these concerns open economic development discussions to consider greater social issues in comparison with the traditional economic development policy frame.

2. Characteristics of Waterloo Region

Waterloo Region includes the three cities of Kitchener, Waterloo and Cambridge and the four townships of North Dumfries, Woolwich, Wellesley and Wilmot (see Appendix B for a map).³² Originally settled by Germans (Kitchener), Scots (Cambridge), and Pennsylvanian Mennonites (Waterloo), the region sits on the major transportation route of southern Ontario, the MacDonald Cartier Freeway (Highway 401), less than an hour's drive west of the City of Toronto, placing it in competition with the Greater

³² Statistics Canada defines the geographic area as the Kitchener Census Metropolitan Area minus the Townships of Wilmot and Wellesley but the citizens of Waterloo Regional Municipality refer to the area as Waterloo Region and so it will be referred to as herein.

Toronto Area for attracting external investment and newcomers to Canada. With a total population of 478,121 in 2006, its strong industrial economy and three post-secondary institutions have long made Waterloo Region an attractive settlement for newcomers who prefer a mid-sized city lifestyle.

Although Waterloo Region is generally a manufacturing region with 26.5 percent of the employed population working in manufacturing in 2001 (second only to Windsor [CTT, 2005]), and nearly 30 percent in 2005 (Statistics Canada 2006c), the City of Waterloo stands apart from Kitchener and Cambridge with its strengths in the financial and business services and high technology sectors, and as the home of the University of Waterloo and Wilfred Laurier University. Compared with Kitchener and Cambridge, the City of Waterloo has more people employed in professional occupations with nearly double the percentage employed in the natural and applied sciences occupations, the most diversified labour force, the highest median incomes for couple families,³³ and the lowest proportion of lone parent families (12 percent of all families). Waterloo Region does not, however, have a significantly higher proportion of male or female graduates in the math, computers and information science, engineering, architecture and business administration programs – areas in which the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University specialize - compared with men and women in the rest of Ontario (Statistics Canada 2006c). When looking at the City of Waterloo on its' own, however, there are twice as

³³ In 2001, the median income for couple families was \$77,737 compared with \$64,522 in Kitchener and \$67,826 in Cambridge. It was also approximately \$11,000 above the median income for couple families in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2001 Community Profiles).

many math, computer and information science graduates in proportion to the rest of the population that is 15 years and older than in the rest of Ontario.³⁴

Conestoga College situated on the municipal border of Kitchener and Cambridge has contributed to the dominant manufacturing and automotive parts industries that include a Toyota assembly plant in Cambridge employing more than 3,000 workers, and thirteen industrial parks spread across the region. In 2005, men in Waterloo Region were 11 percent more likely to work in manufacturing than men in the rest of the province; and women were six percent more likely to be employed in manufacturing than women in other communities in Ontario. Women, however, were less concentrated in manufacturing than men in Waterloo Region, and most likely to be found working in the service sector, followed by health care and social services; manufacturing; business services; and retail trade. Women made up 40 percent of the full time, full year workers in Waterloo Region with average earnings of \$34,399 or 66 percent of what full time, full year men earned in 2000.

The area has been described as “small c conservative” and “less progressive” than other communities with regard to women’s roles in decision-making positions (interviewees 8 and 6 respectively). Still, the relatively low presence of female political leadership at the municipal level found in the region is similar to other municipalities in the province and across Canada generally.³⁵ Between 2004 and 2006, when the

³⁴ The proportion of architecture, engineering and related technologies and business and public administration graduates are only one percent or less higher in the City of Waterloo compared with the rest of Ontario (Statistics Canada, Community Profiles, <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E>).

³⁵ In 2004, women accounted for 11.2 percent of city mayors in Canada; 21.7 percent of city councillors and 51.7 percent of city managers (Federation for Canadian Municipalities and the City of Montreal, 2004 *City Tailored to Women: The Role of Municipal Governments in Achieving Gender Equality* 2nd Ed. Ottawa June 2004). In 2009 women accounted for 15 percent of mayors; 24 percent of councillors, and 55 percent of chief administrative officers in Canada. In Ontario however, the percentage of females holding positions

interviews took place, all three cities had male-dominated city councils; incumbent male mayors in Cambridge and Kitchener, and a returning male mayor in Waterloo.³⁶

3. Waterloo Region's Economic Development Policy Community

The responsibilities and organizations involved in local economic development in Waterloo Region have been described as “fractional” given the separation of functions and lack of an “umbrella organization” (interviewee 7). The regional government has a standing economic development committee which liaises with the provincial government on infrastructure and regional planning matters. External investment attraction, however, was outsourced to an arms-length public private partnership called Canada’s Technology Triangle (CTT) between the region, the cities, and the private sector in the late 1990s, while business retention remained in the hands of the female-dominated municipal economic development departments of the three cities.

As an informal organization CTT dates back to 1988, when the economic development officers of Kitchener, Waterloo, Cambridge and the neighbouring City of Guelph coordinated their efforts to jointly market the Waterloo-Wellington region at trade shows, as they had come to recognize that they had similar data and messages, and needed to build a “regional data set on the labour force” to compete with the Greater

as chief administrative officers was much lower at 38 percent; while more women were mayors (17 percent) and councillors (25 percent) than the national average (Federation for Canadian Municipalities, Municipal Statistics Male-Female Gender Statistics www.fcm.ca//CMFiles/Female_Male%20Municipal%20Statistics January 13 2009).

³⁶ In 2006, the City of Waterloo increased its number of city wards and thus, the number of councillors from five to seven. The most drastic change in female leadership came after the 2006 election in the City of Waterloo when female councillors outnumbered male councillors for the first time in the Region of Waterloo’s history. Four of the seven women and three of the thirteen men who ran for Waterloo city council in 2006 were elected. This female-dominated city council was not part of the interview sample since they came into office after the 2004-2006 interview time period in order to preserve the consistency of institutional norms and procedures that existed during the interview period.

Toronto Area and Ottawa Valley (interviewees 6, 7 and 22). When Caroline Andrew examined CTT in 1994, it was nothing more than this agreement and the working relations among the four economic development officers: “It has no staff and no resources... CTT has maintained support because it has remained in the control of the individual municipalities” (Andrew 1994:107-708). This arrangement changed with the incorporation of CTT in 1999; a compromise in lieu of amalgamating the three cities and four townships into one government housed in Kitchener (interviewees 7, 11, 12, 13, 21, and 22). In its early days, Leibovitz (2003) found the incorporated CTT to be lacking in the institutional capacity to act collaboratively and efficiently; however, the turnover of key leaders in the economic development policy community, the mayors’ willingness to replace their representation on CTT’s board of directors with their chief administrative officers, and the complementary rather than competing economic development strategies of the three municipalities has increased the cooperation and working relations among CTT’s partner organizations in the past ten years (interviewees 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, and 22).³⁷

The interviewees were asked the following set of questions to depict the economic development policy community organizations and the involvement of multiple scales of governance in the local economic development policy-making process:

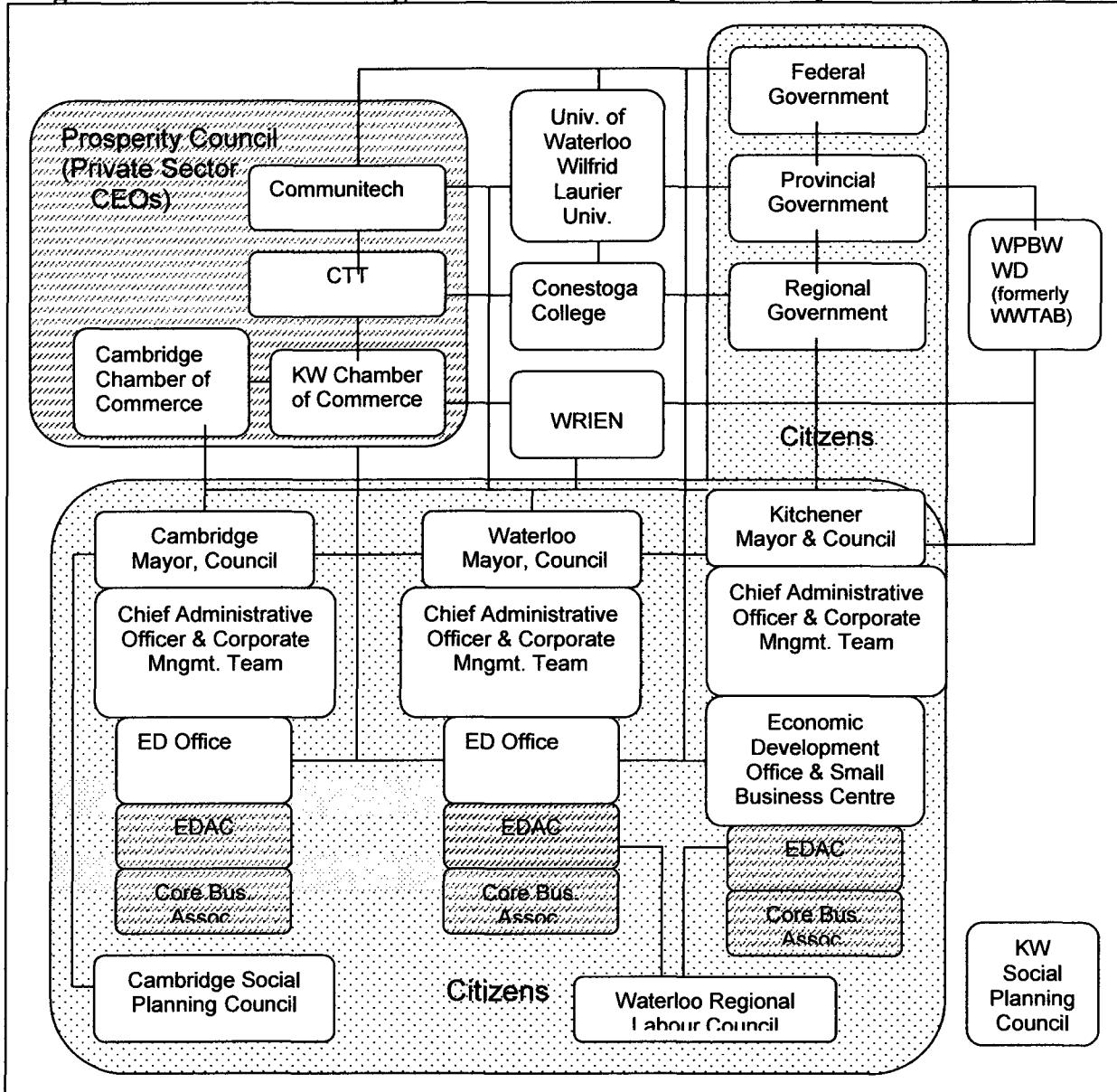
- *How would you describe the relationships between your office and other local actors, such as the chief administrative officers and economic development departments of the other cities of Canada’s Technology Triangle, the Region of Waterloo, the private sector, and economic development non-profit organizations (i.e. CTT, Communitech, Chambers of Commerce)?*

³⁷ See Jeffrey Roy, “Canada’s Technology Triangle” (1998); Caroline Andrew, “Recasting Political Analysis for Canadian Cities” (1994); and C. Andrew, F. Houle, and J.Y. Theriault, “New Local Actors: High Technology Development and the Recomposition of Social Action” (1993); for case study analyses of CTT.

- *How would you describe the relationship between your office and the provincial and federal levels of government?*
- *Are there any particular departments in the other levels of government that your office works closely with?*
- *What sort of power or control do other levels of government exert on your office?*
- *Has the federal government ever required GBA for federal funding of initiatives?*
- *To what extent would you say local labour groups, social planning groups or other social movement organizations are involved in setting the economic development agenda or providing input or feedback to economic development policy?*
- *Who are you surprised not to see involved or represented in the local economic development policy process?*

The following diagram depicts the policy networks and organizations involved in the Waterloo Region's economic development policy community according to the interview responses.

Diagram 4.1: The Waterloo Region Economic Development Policy Community



Source: Author, interviews with policy community members 2004-2006

The federal government is situated at the top of policy community diagram to represent its influence in setting the overall policy agenda through the creation of budgets for specific priorities, for example, innovation and research and technology. The only level of government to have adopted a formal GM policy commitment (Status of Women Canada 1995); it is also the farthest removed from municipal affairs. According to the

interviewees, the federal government has never devolved any responsibilities or mandates for GM to the local level, nor has it required any gender-based analysis or gender impact statements for local funding. Twenty-one interviewees replied that the federal government is primarily involved in local economic development as a funding partner on a project-level basis, while the provincial government exercises a considerable amount of legislative control in economic development policy and growth management guidelines, provides funding, and in rare cases, refers business clients, such as the Toyota Motor Company (interviewees 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24). The provincial and regional governments are located under the federal government to illustrate the chains of command according to constitutional authority.

In contrast to the hands off approach of the federal government; the provincial government is viewed as authoritative, controlling and intrusive in local affairs. Interviewee 21 claimed that the local economic development policy process is “fragmented” and “restricted” because of the provincial legislative framework. Unlike American cities, Canadian cities are bound by statute, so that the province has “a lot of power or control” and “... they expect local governments to act as their agents” to carry out programs (interviewee 21). The provincial legislative framework which extends from “environmental regulations; planning regulations [including growth management planning]; [and] the Municipal Act itself,” (interviewee 21) to taxation policy for growth-related infrastructure (interviewee 14) was cited as one of the main deciding factors in local economic development issues along with city councils’ approval (interviewees 12, 13, 14, 18, and 21). “The province drives the policy,” and “We’re generally being dictated to” concurred interviewees 10 and 12.

The province was also viewed as the biggest source of funding for economic development and infrastructure projects (interviewees 10, 13, 17, 21, and 23). As interviewee 13 put it, “the province holds the money strings.” Another interviewee stated, “We used to get a lot more money from the provincial and federal governments so they exerted a lot more control that way... most of our block funding has disappeared” (21).³⁸ Yet only one interviewee mentioned the provincial Ministry of Economic Development and Trade when asked to identify the key members of the policy community, namely for referring Toyota to the City of Cambridge.

The Human Rights Code of Ontario and provincial pay equity legislation were two ways in which the interviewees referred to the treatment of women and gender-based concerns in a multi-scalar policy framework. The interviewees discussed these legislative controls, however, in terms of municipal human resources (hiring procedures and administrative staff), rather than in relation to economic development goals. The interviewees did not mention the McGuinty Liberals’ priority of women’s economic independence through the Ontario Women’s Directorate. Perhaps, this is because the Human Rights Code of Ontario is a legislative framework with sanctions; while the policy of promoting women’s economic independence provides resources and grants for community organizations to provide employment related services to women, rather than a legislative mandate to promote women’s economic independence. Or perhaps, the lack of attention to women’s economic independence among economic development policy-makers reflects the government’s delegation of this to the provincial women’s machinery. At any rate, considering women’s economic independence was not a concern for the

³⁸In 2005, “the Ontario Municipal Partnership Fund replaced the Community Reinvestment Fund as the province’s main transfer payment to municipalities” (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, online: <http://www.mah.gov.on.ca/Page1530.aspx>)

majority of the interviewees, particularly in the municipal organizations. Instead, the interviewees focused on development fees, taxation policies, and growth management guidelines as issues in which the provincial government influences local economic development. Thus, the federal and provincial governments have not established policy mandates for cities to adopt GM or to consider women's issues beyond the protection of human rights and pay equity. Diversity, access and social inclusion are encouraged through the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture Act, although the interviewees did not link this act to the cities' diversity strategies (see chapter five). Still this chapter will show that as part of the neoliberal shift, the federal and provincial governments can play an influential role by funding certain priorities over others – even when the funds are directed toward community-based organizations and public-private partnerships instead of municipalities.

In addition to CTT, the regional government, the three cities' bureaucracies, and the four townships represented on CTT's board of directors by their mayors, the core organizations that make up the policy networks include: 1) two Chambers of Commerce, one representing Kitchener-Waterloo and one representing Cambridge-North Dumfries; 2) a public-private partnership representing the ICT sector known as Communitech; 3) a federation of business leaders known as the Prosperity Council; and 4) the representatives of the post-secondary institutions who serve on CTT's and Communitech's board of directors.

Communitech is a membership-based public-private partnership in the City of Waterloo that provides "one voice" for the high technology industry sector to lobby government and to market Waterloo Region as a high technology industry cluster

(interviewees 1, 3, 20, and 22). The Communitech website tells a benign story of Communitech's creation when "Forty high tech chief executive officers joined together to create the Atlas Group in 1997 – a predecessor to Communitech – to discuss industry-related challenges."³⁹ Several interviewees, however, pinpointed chief executive officers Mike Lazaridis and Jim Balsillie of Research in Motion,⁴⁰ the men responsible for the world famous Blackberry, and Tom Jenkins of Open Text,⁴¹ creator of web editing and organizing software, as the creators of Communitech. According to the interviewees, these technology giants and University of Waterloo graduates created a non-government organization to build a high technology industry cluster in the City of Waterloo because they felt that the cities' economic development offices were not representing the high technology sector to its full potential (interviewees 1, 7, 20, and 22).

The Prosperity Council, a federation of Communitech, CTT and the Kitchener-Waterloo and Cambridge Chambers of Commerce was formed in 2002 by the "like minded ideas" of four business and community leaders (interviewee 4), with the "intent to... set a formal agenda" for economic development (interviewee 3). According to interviewee 17, the initial impetus behind the Prosperity Council was an environmental sustainability crisis: the lack of industrial land in the region brought on by provincial and regional growth management strategies. This led to a re-visioning process of how to create economic growth in Waterloo Region. The former chair of the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce, John Doherty was cited as the idea originator behind the Prosperity Council (interviewees 1, 4 and 6). According to interviewee 1, John Doherty brought commercial realtor and Communitech board member John Whitney, the former

³⁹ Communitech online: http://communitech.esolutionsgroup.ca/about_us/our_track_record.shtml

⁴⁰ See <http://www.rim.net/> for company history and other information

⁴¹ See <http://www.opentext.com/> for company history and other information

Communitech president, and the former Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce chief executive officer together for a lunch to discuss creating “a forum of chief executive officers that sets and directs how we want the economy to go” (also corroborated by interviewee 4). CTT and the Cambridge Chamber of Commerce were invited to join the new federation as well. Interviewee 21 described the Prosperity Council as playing an advocacy role in the policy community, stating “They’re able to marshal political and financial resources around specific questions... They’re not a formal part of our policy process as such but they would inform our discussions.”

Relationships with the regional government varied depending on the municipality; however, the regional government was most often cited for its control over the municipalities’ economic development process according to the regional growth management strategy (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24). Interviewees from the cities and CTT stated that they work closely with the regional planning department to obtain employment land data, which creates the “atmosphere” (interviewee 24) that economic development works within according to the growth management principles set by the region and the province. Other than cooperating on growth management issues, however, the regional government plays a small role in local economic development since the establishment of CTT. The regional chairperson distanced himself from CTT, Communitech, and the economic development policy-making process in general, stating, “so long as [CTT] is fulfilling its mandate, there’s probably no reason for a meeting;” and “the region provides a grant to Communitech but that’s about the extent of it.” CTT provides quarterly reports to regional council but there are no specific criteria set by the region for CTT to fulfill (interviewees 7 and 13).

Interviewees from Communitech stated that they often bypass regional government finding it more effective to collaborate with high technology associations in Toronto and Ottawa to lobby the provincial and federal governments on behalf of the high technology sector. Thus, the regional government's role in local economic development is mainly as a provider of funding, infrastructure, and growth management guidelines, while the cities drive their own economic development strategies (interviewees 11, 12, 13, 22, and 24). Like the province, the regional government has not adopted a GM policy. On the contrary, no one from the interview sample had heard of GM before the interviews.

The executive level of decision-makers was most often identified by the interviewees as being "key actors who are consistently involved in local economic development policy-making,"⁴² as well as the idea originators of particular economic development strategies and projects. In particular, the mayor of Kitchener Carl Zehr; past and present chief executive officers of Communitech and CTT; University of Waterloo president David Johnston; ICT chief executive officers Mike Lazaridis, Jim Balsillie and Tom Jenkins; and industrial developer John Whitney (who serves on CTT's and Communitech's board of directors) were all identified by three or more interviewees as key policy actors and idea originators. The City of Cambridge's economic development director was the only municipal bureaucrat, the only woman, and the only policy community member representing Cambridge to receive three or more mentions as a key actor who is consistently involved in local economic development policy-making. This was likely the result of her twenty years of service in the economic development department and Cambridge's reclusive existence within the region making her the

⁴² The interviewees were asked: Who would you identify as key actors (public and private) who are consistently involved in local economic development planning, decision-making and setting the economic development agenda?

primary economic development liaison between Cambridge and the rest of the policy community (see chapter six).

Table 4.1: Key Policy Actors in the Waterloo Region's Economic Development Policy Community⁴³

Key Policy Actor as Identified by the Interview Sample	Number of Mentions
Mayor of Kitchener, <i>Carl Zehr</i>	5
University of Waterloo President, <i>David Johnston</i>	5
CTT Chief Executive Officer, <i>John Tennant</i>	4
Cambridge Director of Economic Development, <i>Bo Densmore</i>	4
Communitech President, <i>Iain Klugman</i>	3
Commercial Developer, <i>John Whitney</i>	3
RIM Co-founder and chief executive officer, <i>Mike Lazaridis</i>	3
RIM Co-founder and chief executive officer, <i>Jim Balsillie</i>	3
Open Text chief executive officer, <i>Tom Jenkins</i>	3

The Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce's chief executive officer, Communitech's vice president, the regional chairperson, the mayor of Cambridge, Kitchener's chief administrative officer, and several other private sector chief executive officers who serve on CTT's and Communitech's board of directors or the cities' economic development advisory committees also received two mentions by the interviewees as key policy actors. The cities' economic development advisory committees are made up of private sector chief executive officers and in the case of Waterloo and Kitchener, the head of the Waterloo Regional Labour Council, who meet monthly with their respective economic development office on a voluntary basis to

⁴³ Approximately thirty individuals representing the cities, the regional government, and the private sector were identified by one or two interviewees but only the nine individuals listed in this chart were identified by three or more interviewees as key policy actors. Since five mentions was the highest number that any policy community actor received, I used three as the median to distinguish these nine key policy actors from the many who received one or two mentions.

identify issues relevant to the business community. Each of the cities also has a downtown business association that focuses specifically on the core area. The City of Kitchener has the largest economic development office in the region, and was the only economic development office that interviewees identified as having a proactive economic development strategy (interviewees 1, 3, 6, 11, 18, 19, and 22).

The City of Cambridge is positioned farthest away from the regional and provincial governments to illustrate its distance from these scales of government and its “wariness” of Kitchener, reflecting its desire to maintain a separate political and cultural identity from the rest of Waterloo Region. Cambridge interviewees were also the only members of the interview sample who emphasized municipal relations with their Chamber of Commerce, Social Planning Council, and local YMCA over regionally-based partnerships.

The City of Kitchener is positioned closest to the regional government to depict the closer relations between the mayor and the regional chairperson based on their mutual agreement on regional amalgamation. In contrast to Cambridge, however, Kitchener and Waterloo do not have close relations with the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce or the Kitchener-Waterloo Social Planning Council, and they are more likely to collaborate with the City of Waterloo based Communitech, CTT and the universities through their economic development advisory committees, board of directors, and the Prosperity Council events.

Economic development agenda setting and policy-making within the municipal bureaucracies was described as a “team approach” (interviewees 14, 15, 16, 20, 18, 20 and 22). Several interviewees concurred with the sentiment, “We don’t work in isolation.

Everything is done with assistance from other departments” (interviewee 14) most notably with the cities’ planning departments (interviewees 14, 15 and 20) and corporate management teams (interviewees 11, 14, 18, and 22). Moreover, ideas would never be “vetoed” by senior administrators; rather all levels of administration work collaboratively on developing projects (interviewees 14, 18, 21, 22, 23, and 24).

Amongst the policy community members, the economic development process was described as informal and collaborative. In response to the interview question:

How would you describe the relationships between your office and other local actors, such as the chief administrative officers and economic development departments of the other Cities of Canada’s Technology Triangle, the Region of Waterloo, the private sector, and economic development non-profit organizations (i.e. CTT, Communitech, Chambers of Commerce)?

Seventeen interviewees provided positive comments (interviewees 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25); four provided mostly positive comments with one or two negative comments, (interviewees 7, 12, 18 and 20); four interviewees made comments indicating that there was no relationship between theirs and another specific organization in the policy community (interviewees 2, 3, 8 and 17); and one interviewee was not asked this question (interviewee 1; although he provided information on regional relations in response to other questions). Policy community actors “pick up the phone and call anytime” (interviewee 20); “email each other regularly” (interviewee 4) with ideas and developments (interviewees 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23 and 24) and “just do it naturally... we see each other all the time at functions” (interviewees 1 and 12). The policy community members collaborated in order to share regionally-based data sets and reduce the duplication of services (interviewees 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 17, 18 and 19). The

following table lists seventeen collaborative projects that were ongoing between 2004 and 2006.

Table 4.2: Collaborative Projects in Waterloo Region, 2004 – 2006⁴⁴

Collaborative Project	Partner Organizations
The Prosperity Council	Communitech, CTT, Chambers of Commerce
Employment lands inventory	The Prosperity Council, Cities, Region
Small Business Enterprise Centres	Cities - Province
Joint Labour Force Study	Workforce Planning Board - CTT
Employment Training Programs	Workforce Planning Board – Ontario Works
Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network	All policy community members
Regional Tourism Initiative	Cities' chief administrative officers and Regional chief administrative officer
Local Tourism	Cambridge–Chamber of Commerce
Passport to Success	Cities- CTT
Film liaison partnership	Cities - CTT
Call centres regional partnership	Cities - CTT
Rapid Transit Initiative	Cities, CTT, Region, Province
Market biotech cluster	Kitchener - Region
Establish a Regional Wi-Fi	Cities, Region, Communitech, CTT
Downtown Industry Cluster development strategy	Kitchener – University of Waterloo
Re-urbanization Working Group	Cities, Region, Developers, Realtors
University of Waterloo Research and Technology Park	City of Waterloo, University of Waterloo, Region, Province, Federal government

Source: Interviewees 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24

This table shows that the relationships among the policy community members are very conducive to the development of policy networks but that they occurred mainly between business and government organizations with little involvement from labour and social planning councils. Interviewee 25 stated, “Most of our engagement is with the

⁴⁴ 2004-2006 indicates the duration of the interview process and not the start or finish dates of the collaborative projects. All collaborative projects listed here were ongoing during the interview process.

business community.” Indeed, meetings to discuss buying and selling land occur privately and are exempt from provincial transparency laws (Pender October 26 2005).

The social planning councils and labour’s representation in the policy community are located at the bottom of the diagram to show their minimal involvement in the economic development policy-making process according to the interview sample (interviewees 4, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24). When asked about labour’s involvement, interviewee 12 replied, “Now that you’ve brought it up, very non-involved,” a statement that was corroborated throughout the interview sample, although six interviewees mentioned the Waterloo Regional Labour Council’s representative on two of the cities’ economic development advisory committees (5, 6, 11, 14, 18, and 22). They noted that they Waterloo Regional Labour Council periodically makes what they viewed as ineffective presentations to city councils (4, 13, 15 and 21). Interviewees responded to the question of labour’s presence in the policy community with answers such as: “To a lesser extent” (25); “Not that I’m aware of” (2); “To some degree; I wouldn’t say that they’re in the forefront” (23); “They’ve not asked for a meeting... I think because we’re doing so well” (10); “...with less frequency, less breadth and less effectiveness” (4); and finally, “If they need something from us they’ll approach us but we really don’t have that much contact with Social Planning Council, Waterloo Public Interest Research Group, or the Waterloo Regional Labour Council... isn’t that funny?” (20).

In 2005, the President of the Waterloo Regional Labour Council said in an interview with the local newspaper:

‘Labour doesn’t have a face in our community right now... and organized labour is not relevant in some ways as an organization... It’s time for us to get back in front

*of issues and ensure that we're on the agenda and we're a part of the group that's at the table, whether it's at the local level or at the national level' (Rick Moffitt cited by Crowley, *The Record*, March 19 2005).*

The second way in which interviewees identified labour as a part of the local policy community was by the activities of the Workforce Planning Board of Waterloo, Wellington and Dufferin (formerly the Waterloo-Wellington Training and Adjustment Board), one of the twenty-five provincially funded, non-profit, local labour boards. Although the Workforce Planning Board conducts labour force research to identify skilled shortages and propose workforce development solutions, they are not an organization that represents any particular labour group (interviewee 5). In fact, the Workforce Planning Board's board of directors consists of volunteers from labour, the business sector and the community.⁴⁵ A member of the Workforce Planning Board sits on Kitchener's economic development advisory committee and is a partner in WRIEN and the Business and Education Apprenticeship Program. The Workforce Planning Board's impact in the policy community is, however, quite low (interviewees 1, 5 and 7). The interviewee representing the Workforce Planning Board ranked her own level of input as low and neither the Workforce Planning Board nor any of its staff were identified as idea originators or key actors in the policy community by other interviewees. In fact, the Workforce Planning Board's contributions to local economic development policy-making were only mentioned in response to the question of labour's presence in the policy community.

Interviewee 8 problematized labour's minimal input into the economic development policy community suggesting that there was an "us versus them" mentality

⁴⁵ The Workforce Planning Board of Waterloo, Wellington, and Dufferin:
<http://www.workforceplanningboard.com>

between the Waterloo Regional Labour Council and the business-led Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce. In contrast, most of the interviewees did not view the low presence of labour in the policy community as a problem for local economic development policy-making, signifying the separation of social from economic issues in traditional economic development.

The social planning councils in Kitchener-Waterloo and Cambridge-North Dumfries were also described as non-involved in local economic development policy-making (interviewees 2, 4, 7, 8, 12, 20, 21 and 24). Social planning councils are non-profit, membership-based organizations funded by the cities, the region and the United Way, which identify community needs such as poverty, diversity, inclusion, and cultivating citizen participation in decision-making processes, and brings these issues to city council meetings (interviewee 21). Despite the low presence of labour interests and the social planning councils, eight interviewees felt that the economic development policy-making process was inclusive and that “no one” was left out (interviewees 2, 10, 11, 14, 16, 21, 24 and 25).

One particular collaborative project that is re-shaping the policy networks in Waterloo Region is the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN), which brings all of the policy community organizations and many private sector chief executive officers concerned with a shortage of skilled workers, together with social service based non-government organizations. The Centre for Community-based Research coordinated round table seminars and action groups among public, private, and social community leaders in a collaborative community economic development approach (interviewees 4, 5, 21, and personal communication with the Centre for Community-

based Research /WRIEN facilitator). The purpose of WRIEN is to realize the “brain gain” by supporting immigrants’ employment opportunities based on the estimation that immigrants will supply Canada’s net labour force growth by 2011 (research participant 30). The Centre for Community-based Research organized and facilitated an Immigrant Skills Summit in Waterloo Region in 2005, which was attended by 175 community members from business, labour, politicians, public servants, and representatives from educational, community-based, and immigrant organizations. The purpose of the summit was to coordinate cross-sector input, collaboration and commitment to create an immigrant employment network based on the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council model (Centre for Community-based Research online).⁴⁶ The leaders of WRIEN’s ability to strategically frame immigrant issues to resonate with the new economic discourse are responsible for its success – a point which is further elaborated in this chapter – and which enabled them to secure grants from the federal and provincial governments on the issue of integrating newcomers into the local economy. These funds helped WRIEN build collaborative partnerships with business, municipal and regional government. WRIEN’s position in the centre of the diagram is meant to signify this extent of community mobilization rather than suggesting it to be the central or most powerful organization in the policy community.

The final scale in the policy community is the extent and the avenue through which citizen engagement occurs. According to the interviewees and local media reports, neighborhood associations, environmentalists, and heritage conservationists address city council more than other citizens when particular projects peak their interest, such as a greenfield or brownfield development site in their neighborhood (interviewees 14, 15 and

⁴⁶ Centre for Community-based Research <http://www.communitybasedresearch.ca>

19). Interviewee 15 stated, "...there are people who do voice their opinions; mind you most of them will have their own agenda. They don't do it out of a general interest. They do it primarily because it will benefit them to have their voice heard." For example, in 2004, the Cambridge city council faced a lawsuit by a landowners' lobby group for – against the advice of their planning department – not following the provincial growth management guidelines of maintaining 120 meters distance between industrial land developments and "environmentally sensitive wetlands" (Swayze October 2004). After two and a half years of planning and "hundreds of thousands of dollars for the study and staff time," the Cambridge city council voted against the development proposal (Swayze October 2004). Other projects that have garnered citizen attention are the re-development of a large vacant building and an inner-city neighborhood in Kitchener, a proposed residential development on a moraine in Waterloo, and home-based business bylaws (Kawawada December 2005; Pender March 2005; Pender February 2005; Pender May 2005).

Women's participation in the policy-making process, particularly as decision-makers and in conducting gender impact assessments, is argued to be an important element in the consideration of women, and diversity more generally (Beveridge et. al. 2000; Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Verloo 2001; Moser and Moser 2005; Dwyer-Renaud 2005). Rankin and Vickers (2001); Beveridge et al. (2000); and Verloo (2000) suggest that input from women's organizations on the potential impacts of policies increases the likeliness that policy-makers will consider how men and women experience socio-economic phenomena differently and what the impacts of particular policies might be for diverse women in particular. Participation from women's groups in the policy-

making process can be quite different from the participation of women from the organizations and bureaucracies in the policy community as not all women in government are femocrats (Verloo 2005); nor does increasing the number of women in government necessarily lead to more attention to gender issues (Stetson and Mazur 1995). Rankin and Vickers (2001) also note that femocrats in Canada have had a more difficult time overcoming the bureaucratic value of neutrality at the state and provincial level than femocrats in Australia. They conclude:

The bureaucratic culture, unlike that in Australia, was strongly hostile to the concept of advocacy. The women who worked in such structures, despite strong feminist values, could not act as femocrats... The recruitment and promotion system did not reward advocates. As a result, the more senior women knew their career depended on being generalists, not femocrats (Rankin and Vickers 2001:27).

Therefore, while the gender composition of the policy community is instrumental to understanding the gender relations and the roles that women play in local economic development policy-making, women who work in the policy community bureaucracies cannot be conceived of as defining women's participation according to the GM literature a priori, without looking at their gender lens and gender equality frames or the degree to which they are willing to assert women-based concerns into policy discussions.

Moreover, the objective of GM to be conducted by regular policy actors who theoretically acquire a gender lens through gender sensitivity training designates GM to the technocratic elite, who control the degree to which the input of women's groups is encouraged (Verloo 2005). Again, Rankin and Vickers point out that given the bureaucratic value of neutrality and the low priority of women's issues at the federal level, "There is the danger that a depoliticized form of gender-based analysis will be adopted in which 'experts' will interpret what 'women' need rather than seeing women's

groups as conveyors of a complex array of views from women in diverse circumstances” (2001:27). In other words, participation from women-based groups, feminist academics, and the feminist movement more generally depends on the degree to which regular policy actors seek such input and at which stage in the policy-making process. The occupational concentration and segregation of the Waterloo Region economic development policy community is presented with this important clarification in mind.

According to Table 4.3, women in the core economic development organizations (defined as the three cities’ economic development departments; their chains of command, and CTT; or those which have specific mandates to perform traditional economic development functions) were most likely to be mid-level public administrators (economic development officers, technical analysts, researchers and marketing assistants) and least likely to be elected decision-makers.

Table 4.3: Gender Composition in the Core Economic Development Organizations, 2004

	Kitchener		Waterloo		Cambridge		CTT		Total:	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mayors and Councils	6	1	5	0	6	1	--	--	17	2
Senior Public Administrators	8	5	8	1	6	2	24	4	46	12
Mid-level Public Administrators	3	6	1	1	0	2	1	4	5	13
Support Staff	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	5
Totals:	17	13	14	3	12	7	25	9	68	32

Sources: City of Kitchener, www.kitchener.ca 2004; City of Waterloo, www.city.waterloo.on.ca 2004; City of Cambridge www.city.cambridge.on.ca 2004.

In 2004, the core organizations were gender segregated such that women composed only 10 percent of the elected decision-makers; 19 percent of CTT’s board of directors; 25 percent of the senior public administrators (chief administrative officers and economic

development directors); 72 percent of the mid-level public administrators; and 100 percent of the support staff (administrative and executive assistants). In contrast, men comprised 90 percent of the elected decision makers; 81 percent of CTT's board of directors; 80 percent of CTT's advisory council; 75 percent of the senior public administrators; and 27 percent of the mid-level public administrators.

Most of the interview sample recognized the concentration of women in mid-level public administrative roles in the policy community (interviewees 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22) and referred to them as the "implementers", "doers", and "resources" of the policy community (interviewees 20, 7, and 15 respectively). The women differed, however, in how they viewed their own levels of input into local economic development policy-making. One economic development officer ranked her level of input as "very high," stating,

Economic development officers potentially have a very high level [of input] because they're often the ones doing the leg work... Whatever we come up with is kind of what the [economic development] director and chief administrative officer end up moving forward with... Often... we're the ones leading the policy or the ones that bring up something as an issue and begin looking at things (interviewee 17).

At the other end of the spectrum, another economic development officer stated: "I'm not involved in policy development." The remaining three saw themselves as active contributors to economic development policy ideas and outcomes by carrying out research to: "develop and execute a [cluster] strategy;" manage projects and conduct negotiations with other policy community members on economic development projects; prioritize economic development initiatives by making annual work plans and timelines; and "data collection and management." The senior female public administrators in the core organizations viewed their level of input as high and medium. The difference

amongst the economic development officers and senior public administrators is attributable to whether they viewed “policy-making” as something that only elected officials engage in or in broader, project-based terms that include a larger role for the public administration; as well as to the degree to which their city was engaged in economic development re-visioning in the transition from traditional economic development to the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame.

Considering that all the male interviewees from the core organizations were either city mayors or senior public administrators, it is not surprising that they described their level of input as high or very high, with the exception of one senior public administrator who did not classify his level of input in local policy-making, referring instead to the functions of his organization and office in his interview response.

According to the interview sample, women’s activists and women’s groups are not involved in local economic development policy-making through the citizen engagement processes, nor are they sought out or encouraged to participate by the municipal bureaucracies. Rather, women outside of the municipal bureaucracies are rarely involved in policy-making with the exception of a few private sector women who have served on the cities’ economic development advisory committees and starting in 2006, on CTT’s board of directors. The low representation of women on CTT’s and Communitech’s board of directors and to a lesser extent, on the cities’ economic development advisory committees was the main (and in some cases the only) gender-based concern of the majority of the interview sample (interviewees 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 20, 21, 23, and 24). Since most of the municipal interviewees felt that interested citizens are well informed and engaged in the economic development process and that the absence of women, labour and

social interests is not problematic for economic development, the municipal economic development departments would require a significant cultural change in order to reflect a participatory-democratic model (Beveridge et. al. 2000) of preparing gender impact assessments, should GM be adopted at the local scale.

In summary, economic development in Waterloo Region is fractured by its two-tiered governance structure, multiple bureaucracies, and public-private partnerships. Yet the organizations have created a policy community, albeit one with a gendered hierarchy, by collaborating on a number of economic development issues in order to overcome service duplications and to present a regional entity in the global economy. The three cities' complementary economic development strategies based on their relative economic strengths permits a considerable degree of collaboration among a tight-knit group of professionals from the municipal governments, the private sector, and the economic development focused public-private partnerships (interviewees 14 and 18). Public-private partnerships, which mobilized in response to the new economic order and growth management constraints play vital roles in setting the economic development agenda as many initiatives are the result of partnerships among multiple policy community actors. The creation of CTT, Communitech, the new post-secondary campuses in Kitchener and Cambridge, the Research and Technology Park in Waterloo, and the WRIEN initiative are results of locally-based public-private partnerships, suggesting that considering women-based concerns and unequal gender relations in municipal bureaucracies alone would be insufficient in light of the regionally-based economic development partnerships and strategies. According to the interview sample, most of the key policy actors and idea originators come from the private and regionally-based public-private partnerships. Thus,

public-private partnerships in the policy community play an important role in leading the regional economic development agenda. Furthermore, it is argued that they lead the policy community by adhering to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame as espoused by an epistemic community of economists and economic-geographers from the University of Toronto to form a regional entrepreneurial cities discourse coalition.

4. The Consideration of Women-based Concerns and Gender Relations among Regional Organizations

This section looks at the dominant economic development policy frames and gender equality frames of the regional government, and the regionally-based public-private partnerships and non-government organizations in the policy community, namely: CTT, Communitech, the Prosperity Council (which includes the Chambers of Commerce), the Workforce Planning Board (formerly the Waterloo-Wellington Training and Adjustment Board), and the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN). To conduct GM, which is used in this study to signify the apex of considering diverse women's empowerment and equality relative to men in policy-making, policy-makers, bureaucrats and staff members would ideally adopt a gender lens or what Verloo (2004) refers to as a gender equality frame, when looking at policy problems and potential solutions. This is done through self-reflection and evaluation of their own gender perceptions and how these might influence their work, and by gathering and disseminating gender-disaggregated data to educate bureaucrats on gender-based experiences and differences (Rankin and Vickers 2001, Dwyer-Renaud 2005, Moser 2005). This thesis distinguishes between the interviewees' gender lens, determined by how the interviewees viewed women-based concerns and gender issues in their work and

as they relate to economic development; and their gender equality frame, which is determined by their overall perspective of gender politics in terms of defining unequal power relations and solutions to gender inequality.

Recall from chapter three that a policy frame is defined as “ideas about what the problem is, about who is responsible for the problem, about what are the causes and effects, and about what would be a solution” (Verloo 2004:3). The gender equality frames found among Waterloo Region’s policy community concentrated on action strategies of reversing gender hierarchies (norm entrepreneurs), including more diverse groups in decision-making processes (diversity supporters), and including more women in decision-making processes (equal opportunists). GM researchers, such as Pollack and Hafner-Burton (2000) and Verloo (2001; 2004) borrow frame analysis from social movement theory to emphasize the role of strategically framing (Snow and Benford 1992) gender to resonate with an existing dominant policy frame in order to “sell” GM as a policy tool, as opposed to trying to displace or succeed dominant policy frames. While adding gender onto an existing organizational goal to sell GM is never favourable to selling GM for the goal of achieving gender equality (see Verloo 2005 for a discussion of the impacts on gender equality outcomes of adding gender onto existing organizational goals), strategic framing may be a necessary political step to introduce GM to an organization that does not prioritize gender equality and has never heard of GM before, such as those in Waterloo Region’s economic development policy community.

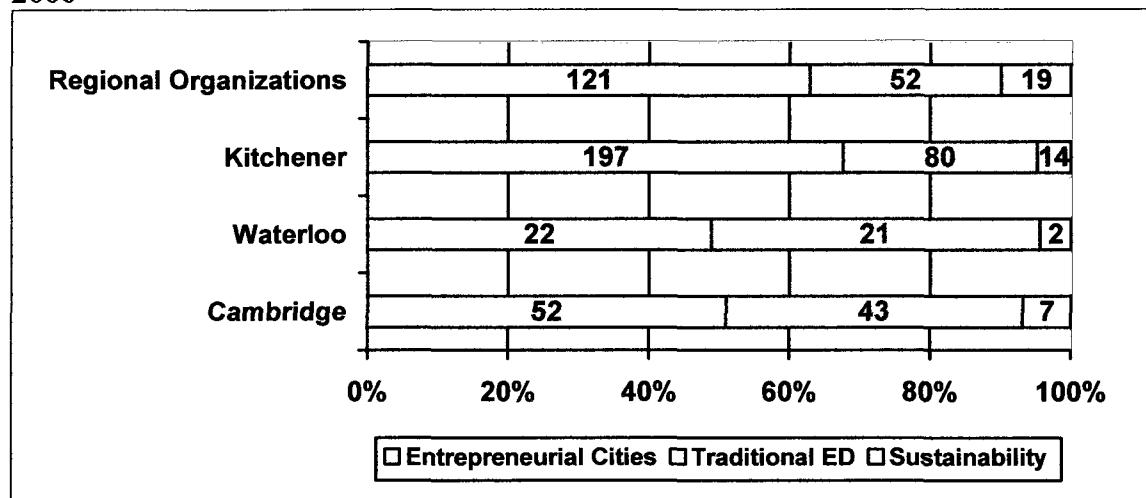
Recall also from chapter one that Bashevkin (2006) argues that NPM models (e.g. public-private partnerships and associative forms of governance) are neoliberal manifestations of service delivery which reduce the costs to governments by placing

responsibilities onto the private sector and co-opting activists' cooperation to deliver services that otherwise would have been demanded from the government (see chapter one). While CTT fits this description of the NPM model according to Bashevkin's critique (with the exception of the co-optation of activists), Communitech, the Prosperity Council and WRIEN were all formed in the private and not-for profit sectors to achieve economic development goals – labour force development; marketing and attraction; and economic inclusion – that they felt the municipal governments were inadequately fulfilling. Another view of NPM models is that public-private partnerships work much like mobilizing networks (Tarrow 1998) in that they encourage collective action, or in this case, organizational collaboration by lowering the individual costs to member organizations. After thirty years of neoliberalism, the discursive technique of strategic framing allows community economic development organizations to blur the lines between livability discourses and social justice, equity, access, and inclusion; and NPM and community economic development. The questions then arise: are public-private partnerships identifying issues and ideas that are different from the municipalities and do they consider women and gender issues differently or to a greater extent than municipal governments? Moreover, if local activists can strategically frame women and gender into quality of life or livability and competitiveness discourses associated with the entrepreneurial cities policy frame as seen in chapter two (Mahon 2006; Bourdreau et al. 2007); do public-private partnerships present more or less opportunities for activists to access policy-makers and participate equally in the policy-making process than in municipal bureaucracies?

To begin answering these questions a textual policy frame analysis of interviews and publications produced by the policy community is employed to examine how policy actors use popular ideologies and discourses to create dominant discursive positions, and the ways in which the policy frames are institutionalized in the policy community, or what cultural political economists refer to as discursive-material analysis (Dannestam 2008). We start by separating the frequency of the dominant policy frames and discourses used by the interview sample (chapter three, Graph 3.1 p.71) by member organizations.

The policy discourses and frames were not used evenly or in the same way by different policy community members and organizations. The regionally-based organizations and the City of Kitchener displayed a greater shift to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame both by frequency of keywords and by the context of their responses than the cities of Waterloo and Cambridge; while the cities of Waterloo and Cambridge displayed a similar attachment to the traditional economic development and the entrepreneurial cities policy frames when looking at the frequency (rather than the context) of keywords. The following graph compares the dominance of the competing economic development policy frames in the regionally-based organizations and each of the cities.

Graph 4.1: Frequency of Policy Frames by Regional Organizations and Cities, 2004 – 2006



This graph shows that the entrepreneurial cities policy frame was employed the most in the policy community by all organizations between 2004 and 2006. The entrepreneurial cities policy frame was also employed much more frequently by the regionally-based organizations (represented by 10 interviewees) and the City of Kitchener (represented by 6 interviewees), but only slightly more by the City of Waterloo (represented by four interviewees) and the City of Cambridge (also represented by four interviewees) than the traditional economic development policy frame. The sustainability policy frame was the least used by the policy community organizations and most often in reference to environmental issues and maintaining a sustainable economy rather than to invoke social sustainability issues, such as economic inclusion, a work-life balance, or eliminating poverty.

The context in which the keywords were used is a better indicator of the policy community's dominant policy frames and discourses than the frequency of use since interviewees sometimes used keywords in discussing what other policy community partners

were doing or the policy frames that their regional partners were following. For example, regionally-based interviewees discussed the traditional economic development policy frame in terms of the resources and strategies found in Cambridge; while Cambridge interviewees discussed the entrepreneurial cities policy frame within the context of the cities of Waterloo and Kitchener or in terms of regionally-based entities. The context of the keywords also explains the categorization of keywords into policy discourses and frames, such as why “post-secondary institutions”⁴⁷ and “core area revitalization” are used as a creative cities strategy more often than a traditional economic development strategy or in the case of the latter, a growth management strategy; or why “job creation” is associated with “entrepreneurs” in “industry clusters” rather than with “traditional economic development”.

Despite the strong attachment to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame among regionally-based organizations, CTT was the only regionally-based public-private partnership to still adhere to a traditional economic development policy frame in conjunction with an entrepreneurial city strategy. This is not surprising given that CTT’s external investment attraction function is essentially traditional economic development. The traditional economic development policy frame was maintained in terms of securing the traditional factors that attract external investment (infrastructure, vacant industrial land, and skilled labour), upholding the manufacturing sector, and “chasing” (interviewee 1) companies. In 2006 CTT’s board of directors established three areas of investment attraction on which to focus. These were: “a timely availability of **employment lands** within the region,... the future of **manufacturing** and the challenges that are facing it, ...

⁴⁷ Includes: “School of Pharmacy”, “School of Social Work”, “School of Architecture”, “University of Waterloo”, “Wilfred Laurier University”, “University of Guelph”, “Conestoga College”, “downtown campuses”, “universities and colleges”, “education cluster” “research facilities” “research and technology park”

[and] skills development which translates itself into the broader question of ensuring that this area will continue to attract a talented workforce" (interviewee 6). CTT must also be aligned with the cities' economic development strategies and their partners in its attraction efforts. Since Kitchener and Communitech focus on attracting targeted industries in addition to strengthening local manufacturing, CTT also employs an industry clusters discourse as seen in this quotation:

With four outstanding post-secondary institutions in Waterloo Region or next door in the case of the University of Guelph, there's the right type of environment and people to [conduct research and development]. So those are the kinds of things that lead us at the end of the day to say our priorities are automotive, advanced manufacturing, information and communications technology, business and financial services, and emerging bio and life sciences and nanotechnology. But there are a lot of places in between, a lot of individual situations that either come to us or look to be promising that we go after (CTT interviewee).

Although both CTT and Communitech focus on building successful industry clusters, the major difference between these two organizations is that CTT is predicated on the belief that economic development can result from business attraction; while Communitech focuses on endogenous, or "organic" growth by advocating for the macro economic conditions to build a high technology industry cluster and to support individual entrepreneurs in the high technology field. For instance, a CTT interviewee stated that despite his or her personal views on gender equality, gender issues were seen as irrelevant to economic development where:

Really, a differentiating area is having outstanding post-secondary institutions, having a very high skilled workforce irrespective of what gender it may be, having demonstrable orientation for quality, having a general level of competitiveness in terms of effectiveness. In certain situations [gender-disaggregated data] would be interesting I'm sure. And just as an observer in this community, generally... it doesn't seem to have on a whole moved as markedly as some other communities in terms of the gender balance that has been achieved to this point. So that's something with respect towards organizations, things that have happened. I would assume that there would be quite a few people who come here and see things at this

point in time, and what they would suggest would be a little less progress compared to other communities.

This quotation also presents one of the first instances in which interviewees separated their personal views on women's equality from their professional capacity in terms of how women and gender issues fit into local economic development.

In contrast to CTT and the municipal-based interviewees' who saw cities playing a strategic role in creating economic development; the emphasis on successful entrepreneurship in Waterloo Region as a legacy of the local Mennonite culture and their "entrepreneurial spirit" (interviewee 11); was espoused by key actors in the economic development policy community; namely, University of Waterloo president David Johnston, University of Waterloo economics professor and CTT consultant Larry Smith, Research in Motion chief executive officer Mike Lazaridis, Communitech president Iain Klugman, and Kitchener mayor Carl Zehr. These elites put forth a dominant discourse of the Mennonite work ethic and an entrepreneurial spirit in public speeches and interviews as the driver of local economic development so that economic development is viewed as an "organic" (interviewee 1) process led by private sector actors who see economic opportunities and take them (Pitts 2006; Keenan, Pitts and Scoffield 2006). For example:

Kitchener-Waterloo, as you know, was farm country, settled by hard-working individuals with a strong sense of church and community. Mennonite farmers who led simple lives and made a good living from the land. But the community founders did not rest on their farming traditions. They were innovators. They added value by building mills and shops, tanneries and factories. Kitchener-Waterloo grew into a diversified economy of agriculture, manufacturing and export — auto parts, furniture-making, meatpacking. These companies were the high-tech pioneers of their time. This was the birthplace of the University of Waterloo (David Johnston, "The Waterloo Way: From Knowledge to Innovation" Speaking notes. Wednesday, November 16 2005).

This quote in particular demonstrates the construction of the Mennonite work ethic, entrepreneurial spirit, and community caring as a marketing tool to sell Waterloo Region as an innately and historically innovative place to foreign investors. These themes are echoed in the interviews provided for this thesis:

Economic development in my mind is driven by the business community. It's the culture and the history we have of people that want to start their own company. It's the Mennonite influence ... it's that culture that we look at each other and we set our economic destiny. ... I think that it is our track record, the culture in this community of developing start-ups and growing companies. And I think economic development is the organic growth of companies... so not only do entrepreneurs grow companies that hire people and create economic wealth in this community but they are also the magnet for bringing billion dollar companies, multinationals to the community... We also play a cultural role so we run Entrepreneurial Week which is actually promoting entrepreneurs in this region because we think many of the issues that we face as a nation are cultural. We're risk averse and we've got real issues with failure in this country and we don't celebrate and promote entrepreneurs so we hand out Orders of Canada to every poet laureate but we don't give one to Terry Mathews who has created more economic wealth in this country than any other single individual ever... It's all about the entrepreneur. Everything else is irrelevant. We created friggin 3,500 jobs in this community alone in the tech sector last year... So I say, get behind the entrepreneur. Nobody's getting behind the entrepreneur (interviewee 1).

One of the answers that Mike Lazaridis gave to this crowd yesterday on why Waterloo Region is successful is because there seems to be a great entrepreneurial spirit here. There is a work ethic. There is immigration and immigration is often entrepreneurial...Mike Lazaridis asked rhetorically, what are the two top cities in terms of donation per capita: Winnipeg [and] Kitchener-Waterloo. Why? What do they have in common? Mennonites, caring, involvement, and entrepreneurial spirit. It was that kind of community that spawned actually the one key policy of the University of Waterloo and that is the intellectual property policy that the university is not the owner of the intellectual property but it is the professors or the people that are developing it. So you have the RIMs, [Research in Motion], the Open Texts, a whole bunch of things. Without that kind of caring and community spirit you're not as successful I think. So that's why there's lots of informal leaders. And I was having difficulty coming up with a key actor...[I]... can't come up with any key actor but there are a whole bunch of people who are very community minded (interviewee 11).

The entrepreneurial discourse was locally institutionalized not only through the annual Entrepreneur Week, but also through two entrepreneurship centres; the Centre for Business, Entrepreneurship and Technology at the University of Waterloo, and the Schlegel Centre for Entrepreneurship at Wilfrid Laurier University built on the \$2 million donation from local entrepreneur Bob Schlegel (Crowley April 2006). A former director of the Small Business Enterprise Centre was also an obvious supporter of entrepreneurship as the driving force of local economic development. Like interviewee 11, she also emphasized the importance of immigration as a source of entrepreneurship.

With respect to the issues that I've been involved in ...the role of young entrepreneurs and immigrants in terms of economic development locally. ... We just recently had a familiarization tour of people who came to Canada under the Immigrant Entrepreneurs [Visa]... We have to get some of them here so I'm trying to get [the] economic development [departments] and CTT's on board. The other three aren't quite there yet in terms of trying to do more to attract immigrants because they've got the money. Some of them are looking for businesses to start; some of them are looking for businesses to buy... Immigrants provide a lot of richness to the community...

The Region get[s] excited about a call centre coming in with 100 jobs. They're more excited about a call centre with a 100 jobs than with fifty entrepreneurs starting a business that by next year will have 400 jobs, and quality jobs because call centers don't offer quality jobs... within a year, [entrepreneurs] would provide more jobs and jobs that are staying here and jobs that are going to attract people...

Part of the Task Force on Women Entrepreneurs was the request that we try to get some networking groups so that women entrepreneurs could get together. I put in a proposal to HRDC [Human Resources Department Canada] to get a program specifically for women entrepreneurs. Larry [Smith]'s got a big passion for entrepreneurship (former director, Small Business Enterprise Centre).⁴⁸

The former director of the Small Business Enterprise Centre and interviewee 1 both strongly supported local entrepreneurship as they saw entrepreneurs as the creators of jobs, producers of wealth and attractors of external investment. They are also both norm entrepreneurs in the policy community-based on their active recruitment efforts to get

⁴⁸ Larry Smith is a professor of economics at the University of Waterloo, who does consulting work for CTT and has published a number of economic forecasts for CTT.

more women to serve on local boards of directors, to encourage girls to study in non-traditional fields, by facilitating an organizational culture that is open and friendly to women and diversity, and by supporting diverse women in entrepreneurship. They differed, however, in their reactions to GM in local economic development. While the former director of the Small Business Enterprise Centre was in favour of diverse women's issues being brought to the forefront of local politics and policy-making in any analytical form, interviewee 1 did not support the idea of GM in local economic development. His view was based on the belief that economic development is organic and occurs at the enterprise level, meaning that it cannot be planned by government or pre-assessed for gender impacts, which would also preclude the participation of women's groups in the policy process. Rather, he believed that cities are lucky to get any development that comes their way. Therefore, interviewee 1 thought that changing how gender roles are socialized from a young age is a more appropriate method to achieve long term gender equality. For this reason, interviewee 1 was a strong proponent of "modeling the way" to breakdown traditional gender roles. I would argue, however, that women's employment is the start of modeling the way so that any way local economic development policy communities can help diverse women improve their resources for empowerment through labour market opportunities helps breakdown traditional gender roles for young girls and boys.

The Mennonite culture is also credited by key policy actors as the foundation for the social connectedness among entrepreneurs that led to the creation of Communitech, as well as to technology transfers between research and development conducted in universities and that conducted in businesses which is theorized to be one of the essential

components of industry clusters (Porter 1990; Saxenian 1998; Wolfe 2001). According to several interviewees, a few University of Waterloo alumni of high technology companies collaborated with the University of Waterloo to create Communitech based on their close proximity and friendships (interviewees 1, 7, 8, 20, 22). For example, interviewee 1 stated, “So [Communitech] was founded by chief executive officers... to build a successful industry and not just a company. ...Initially the cities weren’t involved because they didn’t want to be involved. The universities were involved because they felt the universities were a critical group.” Also:

So there is this incredible connectedness to this community that permeates everything we do that predates the BlackBerry. I have a friend who is a social network theorist and ...she came here to study the connectedness of this community twenty years ago. So I think one of the things that makes us successful is that we have those relationships that makes doing business very efficient. That we bump into each other all the time. That the networks are all connected to each other and there is this sense of obligation (interviewee 1).

In 1996, Beth Moore Milroy wrote about how the “extensive descriptions ... of community building in Kitchener-Waterloo,” which privileges the German and Mennonite culture and work ethic emphasizes “industry, trade, employment, economic cycles, institutions and war” and overlooks a (her)story of communal bonds and informal social safety nets derived from women’s voluntary community work in Kitchener-Waterloo (1996:222). While two interviewees inserted immigration into the entrepreneurial discourse, the dominant Mennonite work ethic explanation of entrepreneurship and economic development has led to a group of private and public (mostly white male) actors who support entrepreneurship in the new economy through the University of Waterloo’s intellectual property policy, the Accelerator Centre, the Research and Technology Park, (both of which received provincial and federal funding)

and Communitech. In contrast, interviewee 8 was unsuccessful in securing federal funds to form “some networking groups so that women entrepreneurs could get together... because even when you’re doing training, women ... don’t necessarily, especially women that are in their forties to sixties and older tend to not ask the questions that much when men are in the room so we wanted to do a training program but its on the back burner.”

Interviewee 8 also went into the high schools to promote girls enrolment in non-traditional fields of study and entrepreneurship, and expressed excitement about the interview process:

I’m glad to do this interview! ...I have been much more vocal probably in the last five years... I just feel more confident. I’m not as concerned about what people will do or what people will say... I spend a lot of time... with women who are either in their thirties or forties and I’m hearing how frustrated they are... I look at all these very talented women I know and I’m seeing that... in some cases they’re getting less opportunities than I had when I was in my thirties... (interviewee 8).

In addition to pointing out the “conservative” and male-dominated local policy-making process; the lack of female representation on boards of directors and the mentality at Communitech and the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce under past presidents to “hire a guy;” interviewee 8 found it unjustifiable that members of the policy community would say that they could not find any female chief executive officers to serve on local boards of directors when the boards are not made up of chief executive officers alone – there are law partners, bankers, and accountants on the boards as well.

Interviewee 8 also recalled the Prosperity Councils’ 1st Annual Prosperity Forum of Waterloo Region in 2003 in which “there were no women present, and no representation from small business... and in fact no one noticed except for [myself and] a reporter” (interviewee 8). According to interviewee 8, the reporter received a call from the Prosperity Council executives who were upset that this fact appeared in the local

newspaper's coverage of the event. They have since actively recruited women to be part of their task forces.⁴⁹ The Prosperity Forum led to an agenda for which six task forces that combine traditional, entrepreneurial, and (environmental) sustainability strategies were created: 1) vision; 2) branding and marketing; 3) workforce development; 4) health; 5) the arts; and 6) a regional growth management strategy.⁵⁰ In 2004, all 13 members of the Prosperity Council's board of directors were men and their six task forces included 45 men and 12 women, half of whom served on the Health Task Force.⁵¹

The Prosperity Council also published three reports on the local economy including *Moving Our Economy from Good to Great* (2004), which propagates the industry clusters and creative cities discourses. Academics Michael Porter, Roger Martin, Meric Gertler, and Richard Florida are referenced in the discussion paper's analysis of local competitive advantage, innovation and productivity, and the creative class. For example: "Based on Professor Michael Porter's research at the Harvard Business School, sectoral clustering creates a competitive advantage for a region" (Prosperity Council 2004:14). This is followed by a list of Waterloo Region's industry clusters: automotive, processed food, education and knowledge creation, production technology, business services, heavy construction services, financial services, building fixtures, equipment and service, metal manufacturing, and transportation and logistics. The Prosperity Council also wrote: "Professor Richard Florida ... has discovered there is a discernable group of highly creative people – the 'creative class' – who arguably are the main determinant of a region's economic growth and prosperity. This talented group gravitates to cities that are

⁴⁹ This account is not corroborated by members of the Prosperity Council because it was not asked of them, nor by the reporter who did not return my calls.

⁵⁰ The Prosperity Council website: <http://www.prosperitywaterloo.com>

⁵¹ The Prosperity Council 2004, <http://www.prosperitywaterloo.com>

diverse, open to people of different backgrounds and orientations, and embrace vibrant artistic communities” (2004:4). This passage is followed by positioning Waterloo Region within Gertler, et. al’s (2002) American-Canadian city-region comparatives of Florida’s creative indices: the Mosaic Index, the Bohemian Index, the Tech-Pole Index and the Talent Index.⁵² According to interviewee 7, however, these indices are “viewed as fluff by a room full of 100 chief executive officers” who are more interested in traditional economic indicators such as GDP and the value of exports. Yet, “industry clusters,” “art and culture,” and “talent”, emerged as keywords in the dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame used to strategize and rationalize the Prosperity Council’s vision of what the region should aspire to in order to achieve economic growth.

Interviewee 7 viewed the introduction of the creative cities discourse and Florida’s indices through the Prosperity Council as the most notable exception to a policy-making process in which there were no formal processes to include gender or diversity concerns in economic development and a business culture that prohibits discussing gender among the private sector of the economic development policy community; particularly among chief executive officers (interviewee 7). Interviewee 7 said that he had been trying to include gender and particularly diversity issues into the economic development policy-making process for some time, remarking that there were a few policy community

⁵² The Mosaic index measures cultural diversity by the proportion of the local population that is foreign born. Waterloo Region ranked third in Ontario and third when compared to other cities in Canada and the U.S. on the Mosaic index. The Bohemian index measures local creativity by the number of people who are employed in artistic and creative occupations compared to the rest of the employed labour force. Waterloo Region ranked third and 15th on the Bohemian index in Ontario and in Canada - U.S. respectively. The Tech-pole index measures the proportion of the high technology sector by a region’s share of the national employment in high technology industries compared to the region’s share of national employment. Waterloo Region ranked 3rd in Ontario and 15th again in the Canada – U.S. perspective in this measure. Finally, the talent index is a human capital measure of the proportion of the local population over 18 years with a bachelors’ degree. Waterloo Region ranked fourth in Ontario and 46th in Canada and the U.S. in Talent.

members who would bring up gender and diversity concerns through their informal, work relations based on their individual gender and diversity beliefs. Thus, he did so by strategically framing diversity as a public amenity according to the creative cities discourse. Collecting gender-disaggregated statistics in the case study area is problematic, however, when asking for the gender of chief executive officers on a survey is viewed as inappropriate by the business community (interviewee 7). Nonetheless, interviewee 7 is considered to be a norm entrepreneur based on his personal mission to include gender and diversity issues into the policy community and policy-making process.

The Prosperity Council was most often cited for its physician taskforce and for articulating the argument for arts and culture as a fundamental element of economic development based on their adoption of the creative cities theory (interviewees 4, 16, 18, 21, 22). For example, an open letter from the Prosperity Council in 2006 to the community stated:

...the Council is now focused on the Waterloo Region arts and culture sector. ... Recent research is indicating that a vibrant cultural industry is critical for thriving and growing regional economies. ...the need to develop the necessary infrastructure for sustaining a vibrant cultural sector is an imperative. ...What can be done to raise innovation and creativity to a whole new level?...A revolution in arts and culture We propose a ... creative intersection that brings the cultural makers together with the business and community leaders in the spirit of innovation and enterprise that has fueled and driven the Region's success in industry and technology to date, in a bid to make Waterloo Region even more attractive in every way ...

This is our plan to make Waterloo Region Canada's Centre for Innovation and Creativity: 1. Begin with 4 clusters of excellence ...knowledge ... arts and culture ...design... natural and cultural heritage. ...The aim, over time, is ...to reach the point where Waterloo Region becomes known as THE centre for contemporary art (Smith, Martin, Butcher, and Jackson 2006 emphasis in original).

The Prosperity Council's use of the creative cities discourse has spread horizontally to executives in other policy community organizations through the policy networks, as

interviewee 18 described the City of Kitchener's adoption of the argument that the “**arts and a vibrant cultural life** are important economic development building blocks.” As a result, the City of Kitchener began to invest in an arts and culture industry cluster to spur downtown revitalization in order to attract the creative class. The following chapters further explore how “core area revitalization” was doubly pursued by the municipalities as an entrepreneurial cities strategy to “create a sense of space” or “place” (interviewees 11 and 23); and a sustainability strategy to follow growth management guidelines. While interviewees referred to a sustainability discourse when they discussed “brownfield re-development,” whether in the core areas or elsewhere in the region, “core area revitalization” encompassed much more than re-developing brownfields – it also included beautification projects such as street-scaping and lighting; creating attractive public spaces, museums, festivals and hotels to bring people into the city-centre; and attracting new businesses to the core (interviewees 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23).

According to interviewee 22, the high technology chief executive officers “are driving the economic policy around high tech and they’re hugely active... Their biggest issue right now is recruitment.” The creative cities discourse is reflected in the discursive shift from “skilled labour” for manufacturing to “talent” in the context of the knowledge-based economy and underlies the goal of talent recruitment in the policy community.

Interviewee 3 explained how improving the local quality of life in an area is “so encompassing” because mobile, talented workers will only come to a region in the knowledge economy if it has a good quality of life. In other words, economic development policy community members put themselves in the position of the creative class who assumingly ask: “What’s the lifestyle like” (interviewee 3); what is the

downtown like (interviewees 19 and 22); is there a “sense of space” (interviewees 11 and 23)? The following quotations demonstrate how the interviewees adopted the creative cities discourse to compete in the new economic order.

What does it mean to live here? What's the lifestyle like?...What does it mean for their spouse or partner who's going to come with them? What needs to be done from a community-based perspective to make it a great environment for people to live and work and play? So I think that that's important to be able to drive from an economic development point of view... It's a huge focus for us over the past year and will probably be for the next few years; to drive the concept of this area as a place where you can build a career (interviewee 3).

...to ensure that we have the art amenities that knowledge workers today are looking for, the lifestyle amenities, that our health institutions are state of the art and that access to health is important, access to family physicians for example, and that there's adequate enough post secondary education (interviewee 4).

Talent is an issue. We have 2,000 jobs we can't fill in this area now... It's about our capacity to innovate and build successful companies. It's about our capacity to be able to attract the top researchers in the world to come here who will attract the top students. That's why people go to Stanford and MIT. They go there to learn from these people and then while they're there, they meet people who are doing a start up and they do a start up and they grow Google, and they grow Oracle, and they grow Intel and Microsoft and RIM [Research in Motion]. It's all about the entrepreneur. Everything else is irrelevant... I tell the same thing to the Province of Ontario... stop handing off half a billion dollars to support automotive which is a dying industry and it will all end up in China anyway. 3,500 jobs is a big deal to them. We created friggin 3,500 jobs in this community alone in the tech sector last year. It's irrelevant. And these are high tech jobs, these are knowledge jobs, these are innovation jobs. These've got way bigger value. ... [The feds] are still paying attention to the resource based economy and I just think that died with NAFTA... It's all over... You know, GM is dead. They're dying. You know, pull the plug. Enough (interviewee 1).

The entrepreneurial cities policy frame is also evident in the discourses adopted by the key policy actors identified by the interview sample but who did not participate in the interviews for this research. For example, in September 2004, Research in Motion co-founder and co-chief executive officer Mike Lazaridis, criticized the federal Liberals' removal of funding for “fundamental research” from their Red Book under Paul Martin.

After donating \$100 million of his own money to establish the Perimeter Institute for Theoretical Physics and \$33 million to the Institute for Quantum Computing, Mike Lazaridis was quoted as saying that the federal Liberals had “turned their backs” on research”:

Before [Paul Martin] got in, he was campaigning (about) the importance of fundamental research, of education, the future value of discovery and then being able to commercialize it. And then all of a sudden he just started talking about (hospital) waiting lines. I would agree that waiting lines are important but, gosh, take away from the foundation of future innovation and you know those waiting lines will just keep getting longer (Crowley September 28 2004).

Also emphasizing the role of academic institutions and quality of life amenities to attract talent in the knowledge economy, Wilfrid Laurier University President Robert Rosehart said about the opening of a new \$11.4 million science and research facility, “It isn’t about the building, it is about the people” (Simone November 27 2004); while Tom Jenkins wrote Waterloo City Hall in support of zoning changes to add a new “lifestyle centre” that includes a restaurant, day care and fitness centre to the Research and Technology Park: “[It] ‘will help us to attract and retain very talented staff’” (Jalsevac April 29 2005).

At the same time, the University of Waterloo joined a technology consortium with four other universities in southwestern Ontario to assist in the development of technology inventions into marketable products about which University of Waterloo President David Johnston remarked, “Southwestern Ontario could become a knowledge capital for Canada and the world” (Simone, November 30 2004). Local business editor Kevin Crowley of *The Record*, who has interviewed David Johnston on many occasions and in this case, after the second Prosperity Forum, (which coincidentally was closed to reporters after his media coverage of the first forum) wrote in 2004 that the Harvard graduate,

...often points to the Boston area as an example of a region whose prosperity is linked to the presence of Harvard, MIT and 30 other post-secondary educational institutions. Johnston has raised the Boston example when discussing why UW moved its school of architecture to Cambridge, and why it plans to open a school of pharmacy in downtown Kitchener, and why it joined with local municipalities to create a research and technology park... These things have a cluster effect... And I think that is the great future for Waterloo Region – as a knowledge creation and dissemination capital of the world. It's a vision that ties in nicely with the aims for the Prosperity Council of Waterloo Region (David Johnston quoted by Crowley November 6 2004).

Reporting on the construction of the Waterloo Research and Technology Park,

Kevin Crowley stated, “To borrow the proponents’ jargon, there’s no doubt it will position Waterloo for the environmentally friendly knowledge economy that many predict will drive Canada’s future prosperity;” and “John Whitney, a commercial realtor and chairman of the Communitech Technology Association thinks the university is on the right track..., however, Whitney says the local tech community is built on spin-offs and ‘organically grown’ companies” (Crowley, May 29 2004).

The only policy community member, who spoke against core area revitalization, a vital component of the creative cities theory, and particularly against the construction of the new medical-focused university campuses in the core of Kitchener, was John Tibbits, President of Conestoga College located on Highway 401 between Kitchener and Cambridge. He argued that the new campuses could be constructed on the Conestoga College grounds for much less money than the city was paying since the College had existing buildings that could have been renovated and that already included an operating room for the purpose of training nurses in their partnership with McMaster University, (which begets the question of where the nurses would train?). In 2004, John Tibbits was quoted as saying, “...we have focused on downtowns when we should be focusing on our overall economic development. Overall economic development will drive our

downtown cores...There's no point in having a pretty downtown if the economy has gone belly up” (John Tibbits quoted in Aagaard March 2004). He does, however, speak in favour of “Yale big, Massachusetts Institute of Technology big. Giant clusters of knowledge feeding innovative companies and attracting new ones,” to which end Tibbits suggested that the University of Waterloo school of pharmacy should have been located in the Waterloo Research and Technology Park, just a few miles away from the University of Waterloo main campus (Aagaard, March 25 2004). These quotes reflect the private and public-private sector’s convictions to invest in quality of life amenities and human capital facilities to attract “talent” to Waterloo Region and to build “organically” grown industry clusters based on entrepreneurs within the context of the knowledge economy.

The last of the regionally-based norm entrepreneurs is interviewee 5 who stated that even though women in the workforce had been identified as an issue by her organization, they were overlooked in favour of the immigrant workforce as a priority because of a lack of political will to support gender research. Interviewee 5 explained, “A lot of what gets prioritized has to do with the cyclical nature of government. Right now there was a lot of money available for immigrant issues. There's not a lot of money available for women's issues.” For example,

There's a new Canadian federal program that affects labour policy because it's a program to get skilled immigrants into the workforce... I think it's through Industry Canada... Labour's a big thing for us. Making sure we've got skilled labour, we've got all this knowledge coming out of the universities but skilled labour's been decreasing for the last few years. [This is a human resources focus on] immigrants but it certainly does affect policy in terms of attracting people and putting them to work... [This program] makes sure they get all the skills they need, speaking English and communicating because they've got eighteen degrees and they end up being taxi drivers because they can't communicate (interviewee 16).

In addition, the Centre for Community-based Research's leadership on immigrant employment and willingness to provide staffing and resources was attributed to the success of the policy community's mobilization around immigrant employment through WRIEN over a focus on women or disabled people in the workforce. Interviewee 5 stated, "I'm hoping in the next six months ... we might see some additional action and initiatives identified around gender specific stuff," since "women in particular can fall through the cracks as far as training opportunities go."

Despite their inability to prioritize gender among the policy community members, interviewee 5's organization conducted a women-based study on the workforce training opportunities for rural women in collaboration with CTT. For the most part, however, the regionally-based interviewees could not justify collecting gender-disaggregated statistics – a critical step in any GM process – because: 1) economic development benchmarks were viewed as gender neutral (interviewee 2); 2) limited staff and resources did not allow for it (interviewees 5 and 6); 3) there was no demand nor political support for gender issues (interviewees 5 and 6); 4) and they are not feasible because Statistics Canada does not always make gender-disaggregated labour force statistics freely available or provide them for the local level (interviewees 1 and 5). Thus, the gender differences in the local labour market go largely unknown and unnoticed by the policy community except by those members who use a gender lens and a gender equality frame, such as interviewees 1, 5, 7 and 8. These interviewees are labeled as having a gender lens because: 1) they viewed gender categories as social constructs that are reproduced through institutions and that affect gender relations in organizations; 2) they agreed that gender-based research is required – although it is not always feasible – to achieve gender

equality; 3) they saw a need for more women and diverse voices in the decision-making processes of the policy community; and they instilled these values into their work projects and organizational goals.

Moreover, interviewees 1, 5, 7 and 8 are also categorized as norm entrepreneurs because they go beyond a strategy of inclusion by actively pursuing changes to the status quo in the policy community. They do this by leading their organizations in collecting gender-disaggregated data when feasible, dealing with gender and diversity issues through organizational training and appointments, and bargaining, negotiating, and strategically framing women-based concerns and gender issues onto the policy agenda. For example, one of these norm entrepreneurs stated that she became the first female president of the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce because she challenged the outgoing (Jewish) president that it could be his legacy to appoint the first female president. The norm entrepreneurs' goals resemble Judith Squires' (1999) "strategy of reversal" according to her typology of feminist political action in that they "start from the assumption of gender difference and hence espouse a difference of politics. ... This strategy seeks recognition for a specific female gendered identity. It is typically argued here that politics ought to be reconstructed to manifest the distinctive perspective of non-hegemonic gender identities and cultures (usually female)" (Verloo 2005:346).

Only one interviewee among the norm entrepreneurs, however, felt that he had a high level of input into economic development policy-making (in collaboration with the female economic development officers in the cities); whereas, women even in senior positions in regionally-based non-government organizations felt that they had "minimal"

input into policy-making. therefore, they need to bargain and negotiate women-based concerns onto the economic development agenda.

As mentioned in the gender composition of the policy community, the gender concern that has received the most attention from the policy community is the low number of women on CTT, Communitech's and the Prosperity Council's boards of directors (1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 23 and 24). Even in the private sector of the local policy community, 45.7 percent of software developer Open Text's shareholders voted in favour of a resolution to increase the number of women in senior management, to which Open Text founder and chief executive officer at the time, Communitech co-founder, and identified key policy community member, Tom Jenkins replied, "...this is something that Open Text takes very seriously... We'll certainly examine, going forward, all the different levels, be it our board, and... senior management, but our philosophy has always been hire the best people" (*Hamilton Spectator* December 13, 2003). The Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce stands alone in its gender parity among the board of directors. It also had an incoming female president at the time of the interviews, and the three policy staff positions at the Chamber held by women.

Some interviewees, however, had not considered the low representation of women on boards of directors until the interview question that asked them to consider the extent to which women are involved in the local economic development policy-making process. For example, interviewee 3 began the interview by identifying only private sector men as key policy actors, while also stating: "I would say there's a lot of input taken from a woman's point of view... I would say it's fairly balanced;" then stated: "I don't think we've ever broken it down to say men and women are different. I think if anything,

we've tried to say it's an employee, or it's a company, or you're a leader, not a female leader or male leader. I'm not sure. That would be kind of interesting to see. It's a good question." Finally, interviewee 3 ended the interview with:

When I look at the councillors, or people who are developing policy within the areas, the lack of women in it that kind of concerns me... I like to think that women would bring in a different perspective. I have nothing to substantiate that with. I know I think very differently than my husband thinks. I know that when we talk about politics we look at it from totally different points of view. I assume that we are kind of the norm out there. So would it be a more balanced representation to have more women in making the decisions? I'd like to think, yeah, that would be a great thing to do. How do we get to that point? (interviewee 3).

A similar view was reflected among the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce interviewees who felt that gender was irrelevant to economic development because according to them, there were many women involved in Chamber committees and because economic development topics such as tax policy, securing industrial lands, building infrastructure, creating jobs, and attracting physicians and external investment were perceived as gender neutral. For example, one Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber interviewee stated: "We don't think of [gender] separately. It's integrated. Isn't that an indication of the progress of an organization that I don't think of it separately?" The same interviewee thought that finding child care and creating a work-life balance were not gendered issues and that the Women's Leadership Committee at the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber – the only in-house, women-based group in the policy community – was a "throwback to the seventies." Another interviewee representing the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce stated:

We don't usually put it down to gender because usually we're thinking about the economy and business as a whole when we form policy...[and] ... In my experience, [gender's] never [been an issue]. It's not that it's not considered because people don't want to consider it, it's just that... a lot of ... our policy committees have lots of women on them who take leadership roles and the chairperson for our federal

and provincial affairs committee is a woman for example and many of our board members... we have lots of women around the table (Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber interviewee).

As part of the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce, the Women's Leadership Committee hosts seminars and networking events for Chamber members such as "Women in Politics" in 2004, which was designed to introduce local women to the political system. Despite their presence as a business woman based group, none of the interviewees outside of the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce mentioned the Women's Leadership Committee as a source of women's participation in the policy community. Furthermore, the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber did not consider the impacts of unequal gender relations on diverse women in either the formal or informal economy in their planning and policy papers that are submitted to all levels of government on behalf of the business community; nor in the taskforces of the Prosperity Council which the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber hosts.

The one exception where interviewee 4 thought gender and diversity were issues was in immigrant employment through WRIEN, of which the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber is also the acting host. For example:

In the immigrant employment network, there are gender issues in that some men from some countries aren't able to find work here and faced with the fact that their spouses are able to find work here caused quite a dynamic in the family situation that is very uncomfortable for the family and experiences itself in the work place as well. So that's something that has been raised as well. On the physician recruitment side, one of our success factors is placing the spouse of the physician if we can find a job for that spouse we have a higher probability of securing that position. Most of the time we are trying to find jobs for husbands because most of the recruits are females. Daycare is sometimes considered or has its origins as a gender specific issue. I don't think it's a gender specific issue. But we've not had that as part of our policy agenda. Daycare – its not seen as a core business issue (interviewee 4).

Community economic development agencies were able to partner with the mainstream policy community through the WRIEN initiative. The attention to a skilled worker shortage, immigrants, and diversity under the new economic order discourse was already established through federal and provincial polices, and the Prosperity Council's incorporation of Florida's Mosaic Index in the *Good to Great Agenda*.⁵³ The Centre for Community-based Research framed immigrants' employment as a "community" based, social inclusion and economic strategy by "promot[ing] the well-being of immigrants and their families, contribut[ing] to a prosperous economy; and build[ing] healthy, vibrant and inclusive communities" (Janzen 2007). Moreover, the Centre felt that immigrant employment was not only a comprehensive, "mainstream issue" but a regional concern because of the growing importance of local communities in social and economic policy-making and because "employment happens in communit[ies]" (Janzen 2007). According to the Centre for Community-based Research/WRIEN website, the impetus for WRIEN was a changing view among policy-makers that recognizes the social aspects of economic issues:

Planning started in the fall of 2004 when over thirty groups began coming together to envision and plan for an Immigrant Skills Summit in Waterloo Region. It soon became obvious that immigrant employment was an important issue in our region. While in the past it was often articulated as an immigrant and service provider issue, now it was seen as an issue that affected all community members and the regional economy. This shift in thinking was symbolized by the diversity of partners at the table (Centre for Community-based Research Proceedings of the Immigrant Skills Summit Waterloo Region 2005: 8).

The Immigrant Skills Summit and the WRIEN initiative were supported by influential political and community leaders such as John Tibbits (President, Conestoga College);

⁵³ Twenty-one percent of Waterloo Regional Municipality's local population is foreign born. This ranks Waterloo Regional Municipality third in Ontario according to the Mosaic Index behind the Toronto CMA (43.7 percent); and Hamilton (31.3 percent).

John Tennant (Executive Director, CTT); Ken Seiling (Regional Chair); Carl Zehr (Mayor of Kitchener); John Milloy (MPP Kitchener Centre); Karen Redman (MP Kitchener Centre); and Andrew Telegdi (MP Kitchener-Waterloo) (Centre for Community-based Research /WRIEN online).

In a phone conversation with a Centre for Community-based Research/WRIEN facilitator I asked: "Why did the Centre for Community-based Research choose to mobilize the community around the issue of immigrant employment over any number of other social inclusion, economic development, or sustainability issues that could be addressed?" The response was that two Centre for Community-based Research staff members acted as "allied elites" (Tarrow 1998) or local champions of cultural diversity and immigrant integration based on personal and professionals interests. Second, there was a demonstrable need based on the economic issue of workforce skills shortages, which garnered the support of the business community, and a social justice issue of recognizing, integrating, and celebrating cultural diversity, which mobilized the local social agencies. Third, the provincial and federal governments supported the issue of immigrant employment, creating a favourable political climate, including local experience and knowledge on immigrant employment issues that were gained during previous work with the provincial Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades. Fourth, local funding agencies were willing to fund the initial Summit based on the Centre for Community-based Research's proposal. Fifth, the local political culture described as the "barn-raising" mentality and previous work relationships among community members built a sense of local, collaborative trust. Finally, the Centre for Community-based Research/WRIEN facilitator explained that while WRIEN is not the

Centre for Community-based Research's only issue, it is a comprehensive community initiative based on its diversity; whereas a women-based concern would not be able to rally the support of the full community (phone conversation with Centre for Community-based Research/WRIEN facilitator, Monday March 9, 2009).

This statement is supported by the finding in this thesis of seven regionally-based interviewees (2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 13 and 24) who are categorized as having an equal opportunity gender frame. They may have viewed gender equality in terms of equal conditions and as irrelevant to economic development (interviewees 2, 4 and 6); have an increasing awareness of gender issues as a result of the interview process (interviewee 3), or have an unknown gender lens (meaning that they did not reveal any personal feelings on gender issues in local economic development, interviewees 9, 13 and 24). What they did have in common, however, was a belief that institutional barriers to women's equality have been removed so that any differences in equality that exist between men and women now are a result of their individual preference. They also espoused an attitude of gender blindness meaning that they claimed not to pay attention to gender because not only was gender not an issue in economic development, it is irrelevant to today's gender barrier-free society; as one interviewee attested: "It's nothing that I've ever thought of before... it's just literally something that had never come up before and I had never really thought of" (interviewee 2). Those with an equal opportunist gender frame were also more likely to see the policy community as inclusive and to emphasize the fundamentals of traditional economic development (industrial land, infrastructure, tax policies, etc.) more than norm entrepreneurs. Where gender is an issue for equal opportunists is women's representation

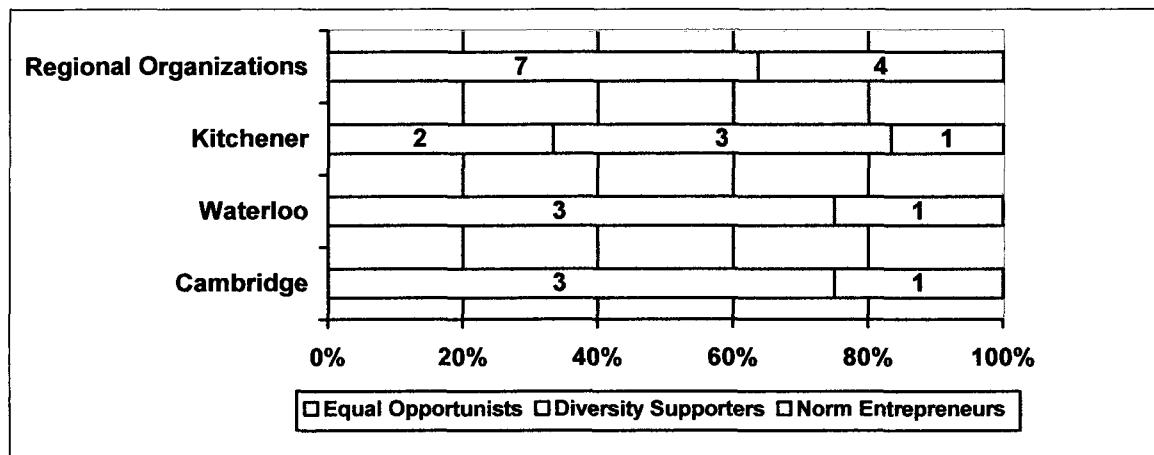
and input on decision-making bodies. This definition of an equal opportunist gender frame strongly resonates with Judith Squires' (1999) "strategy of inclusion" whereby:

The ...exclusion of women is what is problematized. They usually aspire to impartiality, conceive of people as autonomous, and espouse an equality of politics. This strategy seeks gender-neutrality. One could also say that it wants to extend dominant values to all, irrespective of gender (Verloo 2005:345-346).⁵⁴

Unlike their colleagues in the municipalities, however, equal opportunists in the regionally-based partnerships also used the entrepreneurial cities policy frame either because their organization's mandate focused on fostering entrepreneurs and building industry clusters or because of their involvement in the Prosperity Council, which has adopted Porter's and Florida's theories. It is interesting to see how regardless of their gender equality frame (seven regionally-based interviewees were equal opportunists and four were norm entrepreneurs, see Graphs 4.2 and 4.3 below), the entrepreneurial cities policy frame adopted by the Prosperity Council (including CTT, Communitech and the Kitchener-Waterloo and Cambridge Chambers of Commerce) created a discursive space among regional policy community members to discuss diversity in terms of immigrant and talent attraction and economic inclusion to compete in the knowledge-based economy in the form of WRIEN. Graph 4.2 below depicts the distribution of gender equality frames across the regional organizations and the cities.

⁵⁴ Judith Squires' third category of feminist political strategies, that of a "strategy of displacement"; whereby post-modern or post-structuralist feminists aim to "move 'beyond gender,'" to a "diversity politics" that "seeks to displace patriarchal gender hierarchies and to deconstruct discursive regimes that engender the subject" (Verloo 2005:346) was not present among the interview sample. Diversity in the interview sample were more concerned with adding the categories of "women" and "gender" into a broader category of "diversity," rather than over-turning the patriarchal systems that lead to gendered identities in the first place.

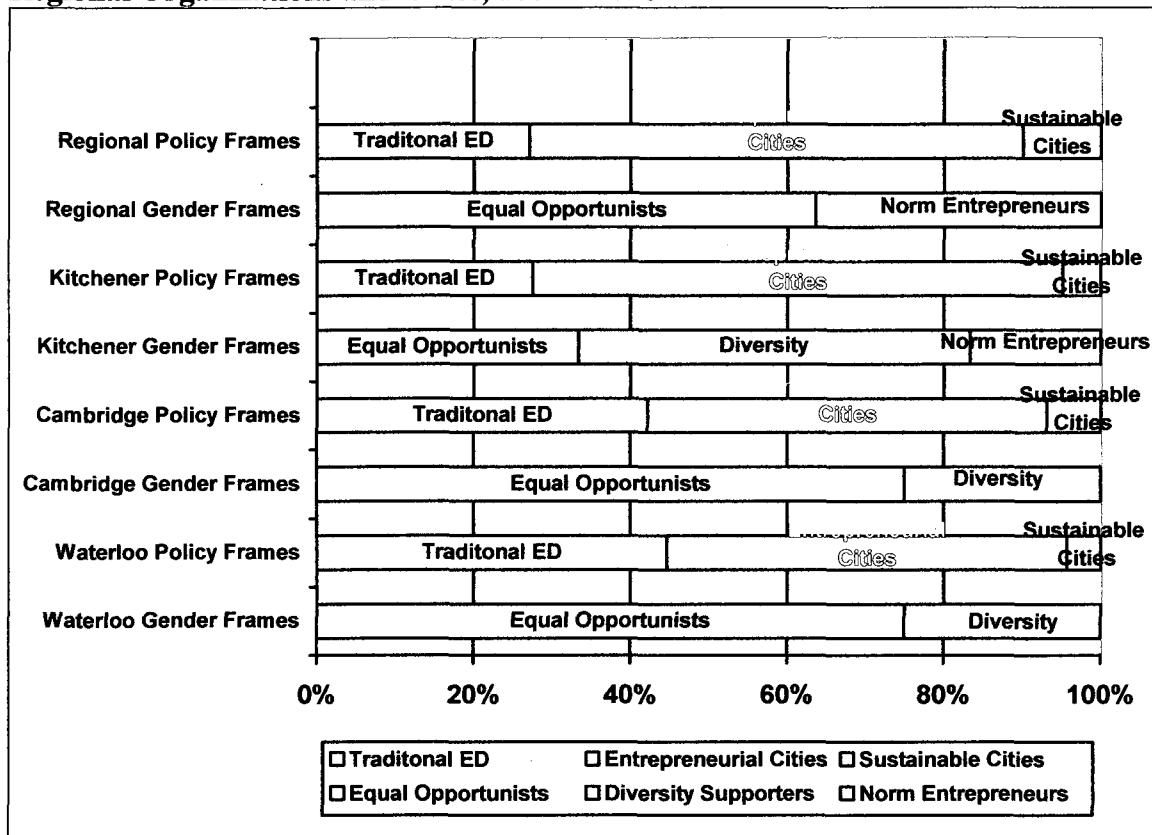
Graph 4.2: Gender Equality Frames by Regional Organizations and Cities, 2004 – 2006



This graph shows that while most interviewees were equal opportunists in their gender equality frame, where the entrepreneurial cities policy frame dominated – the regionally-based public-private partnerships and the City of Kitchener – is where the integration of social and economic concerns particularly in the form of diversity based initiatives were also present. Conversely, in the cities of Waterloo and Cambridge, where the traditional economic development policy frame was still entrenched despite discussion of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame, diversity based strategies were less of a concern. Furthermore, norm entrepreneurs were heavily engaged in the entrepreneurial cities policy frame, while equal opportunists were more apt to discuss the traditional economic development policy frame.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The discussion of the associations between the dominant economic development policy frames and the gender equality frames among municipal policy community members continues in the following chapters that look at each of the cities' economic development agendas and strategies individually.

Graph 4.3: Economic Development Policy Frames and Gender Equality Frames by Regional Organizations and Cities, 2004 – 2006



Again, this graph shows that norm entrepreneurs work in regional organizations and in the City of Kitchener where the traditional economic development policy frame is used the least and the adherence to the entrepreneurial policy frame is the strongest. Also, the proportion of equal opportunists among the municipal interviewees increased with the greater usage of the traditional economic development policy frame. The greater proportion of equal opportunists among regional government, non-government organizations, and public-private partnerships in relation to the usage of the traditional economic development policy frame is a result of the inclusion of two regional government interviewees who did not adhere to any of the economic development policy frames as they stated that they are not greatly involved in local economic development

since the incorporation of CTT; and the inclusion of the only volunteer in the interview sample who also did not speak in terms of the economic development policy frames. If it were not for the inclusion of these three interviewees, we would see a positive association between the adherence to the traditional economic development policy frame and the number of equal opportunists in an organization.

It is not surprising then that we see WRIEN, a precedent-setting, socio-economic issue reach the economic development policy agenda at the regional level, where four out of the five norm entrepreneurs worked, where the entrepreneurial cities policy frame was very strong, and where collaborative public-private partnerships were the norm. The WRIEN initiative was successful in introducing a socio-economic inclusion and diversity issue into the realm of economic development based on the social networks of the policy community, the availability of resources, and a timely socio-economic issue with political support at all scales of government where the new economic order discourse was the leading problem diagnosis for economic development. It did so, however, by not emphasizing gender relations in immigrant employment in order to make it resonate with the “mainstream” issue of a talent or skilled worker shortage supported by the federal and provincial governments. In contrast, an earlier community economic development initiative – Opportunities 2000 - which focused on poverty reduction in Waterloo Region, also brought many community stakeholders together but did not have the same impact in partnering with the economic development policy community as the WRIEN had, perhaps due to the still dominant traditional economic development policy frame at the time. In fact, although well noted in the community economic development literature,

Opportunities 2000 was only briefly mentioned by one interviewee (21) as something that happened a while ago but was not related to economic development.

The exclusion of gender and emphasis on diversity in WRIEN is evidenced in a precursor to the Summit; a research paper, which provided a quantitative, qualitative and gender-neutral argument for a “made in Waterloo” solution to the barriers facing skilled immigrants (Centre for Community-based Research October 2003). This paper called on the federal and provincial governments to provide leadership in regulation and accountability of professional regulatory bodies and in promoting non-discriminatory attitudes and hiring practices as well as a culture that respects diversity. The social inclusiveness and economic gains to recognizing immigrants’ skills and qualifications are closely linked throughout the document; however, the gender differences among immigrants’ skills, their roles in the informal economy and how those impact labour market participation are not considered. Prior to the Summit, five discussion-paper producing taskforces were created strategically to plan actions concerning a particular element of immigrant attraction and integration. Unlike the Prosperity Council, the WRIEN initiative brought many more women into the discussions and decision-making processes, as a result of its municipal, provincial and federal, and non-government partners. The gender composition of WRIEN’s five taskforces was 45 women and 21 men, as well as the only case of the inclusion of a women-based non-government organization (Focus on Ethnic Women) in the policy community. Therefore, despite lacking an explicit women or gender focus, WRIEN successfully sought greater women’s participation from the community under a diversity based initiative.

To see whether WRIEN actually empowers diverse women in the community would require an extensive program evaluation of WRIEN's strategies using either Kabeer's or England's (or both) empowerment models. It would seem likely, however, that by reducing barriers to immigrant women's employment through lobbying governments to change or speed up the accreditation process of certain professions; matching immigrant women with employers; and increasing the profile of women-based non-government organizations such as Focus on Ethnic Women, that a diversity based initiative such as WRIEN can empower diverse women even when the stated goal of the organization is to capitalize on immigrants' skills.

5. Conclusions

This chapter demonstrated that the power relations in Waterloo Region's economic development policy community are consistent with earlier studies whereby a handful of male elites including private sector chief executive officers and developers, political leaders, and university presidents are found to dominate the economic development agenda (Andrew 1994; Silverman 2003). During the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, these key actors used collaborative projects and public-private partnerships to achieve their goals, which reinforced an old boys' club of influential agenda setters and decision-makers through their repeated contact and close networks. This social connectedness facilitated the institutionalization of a dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame among the executives in the policy community. In doing so, the elites of the policy community over-rode the traditional economic development policy paradigm of the municipal economic development offices, which they felt was ineffective in addressing the economic issues posed by the new economic order (i.e. economic globalization, the rapid

development and increased use of ICTs, neoliberal state policies, and an aging population) and the sustainability issues in the face of growth management constraints imposed by the provincial and regional governments.

The consequence of the dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame is a gender and spatially-based discourse and strategy that celebrates local entrepreneurship and invokes the local Mennonite culture as the basis of an entrepreneurial culture in Waterloo Region. This cultural legacy is discursively combined with the emphasis on entrepreneurialism and innovation found in the industry clusters and creative cities theories and institutionalized through the mandates of Communitech and the Prosperity Council. Therefore, predominantly male-based entrepreneurship in the high technology sector in the City of Waterloo is supported by federal-provincial-regional and local partnerships; whereas female-based entrepreneurship in the service sector in Kitchener does not receive the same level of multi-scalar support. Similarly, the next chapter discusses the policy community's grave concern with the state of the local manufacturing sector in the face of globalization but not a concern for the shift to the female-dominated insurance or other services sectors. As interviewee 1 stated in regards to the federal and provincial governments, it is a well accepted position in Ontario politics that manufacturing jobs have to be protected – an argument that is based on the male breadwinner model. On the one hand, policy-makers cannot let so many men lose their source of income as they are the primary supporters of families; on the other hand, it is acceptable for women to work in insecure and minimum wage retail and other services sectors which are not unionized and often do not provide livable wages or benefits because women are not viewed as the primary breadwinners. Therefore, the provincial government spends billions of dollars to

subsidize the auto manufacturing industry but they do not spend any money on topping off women's salaries in a service based economy so that women can make a livable wage to offset manufacturing income losses among dual earner couples.

The norm entrepreneurs among the interview sample engaged in strategies of reversal (Squires 1999) to change the gendered status quo. They introduced Florida's (2002; 2004) creative cities discourse to the Prosperity Council and conducted at least one women-based study but they had not been successful in getting boards of directors to recruit women beyond the ranks of chief financial officers or chief executive officers in order to increase their representation of women on decision-making bodies (interviewee 8).⁵⁶ Diversity, however, became a centripetal force among policy community members at the regional scale by focusing on immigrants' skills and economic inclusion rather than gender categories. Therefore, strategically framing in the sense of "adding on" (Verloo 2005) immigrants' social and economic inclusion to existing organizational goals according to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame was a successful strategy in the policy community.

Finally, while the neoliberal institution of public-private partnerships solidified an old boy's network of key policy actors during the 1990s, by the early 2000s, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame opened a discursive space to consider immigrants and diversity in economic development policy-making. The federal and provincial governments had already established this discursive connection so that local community-based actors (i.e. the Centre for Community-based Research) could bring that discussion to the mainstream regional policy community. By doing so, WRIEN greatly increased the

⁵⁶ The norm entrepreneurs' impacts on gender roles as a result of reaching out to high school students are unobserved.

participation of diverse women in the economic development policy-making process.

Women and gender issues were subsumed, however, under a broader concern for diversity within the issue of immigrant inclusion in the local labour market. It is unclear whether this was intentional or whether WRIEN leaders actually prioritized diversity over gender. What we do know is that the WRIEN initiators knew that a women-based issue would not receive the support of the economic development policy community. Still, diverse women will likely experience an increase in their resources as a result of WRIEN's lobbying and networking efforts. The more the federal and provincial governments provide leadership on community empowerment by partially funding locally-based research and problem solving initiatives, such as WRIEN, the stronger these public-private partnerships will be with the private sector and with municipalities because they do not have to resource and fund the entire initiative and because federal and political leadership legitimizes the cause of partnership.⁵⁷

Thus, returning to Bashevkin's argument that NPM models are neoliberal manifestations of government off-loading responsibilities to the private and non-profit sectors, thereby coercing activists to provide the essential duties that governments collect revenues to perform; the Prosperity Council, Communitech, and particularly, the case of WRIEN suggest a more lateral and equal relationship between civil society actors engaged in public-private partnerships and local governments. First, these partnerships were created by the private and not-for-profit sector rather than the public sector. Second,

⁵⁷ For example, in February 2009, Status of Women Canada funded the Kitchener-Waterloo Counselling Services Inc., \$119,000 over 18 months to launch Money and Making It On Your Own, a project intended "to increase the economic security of immigrant and refugee women, enabling them to leave abusive situations; and to develop culturally relevant domestic violence services in the Kitchener-Waterloo area, to meet the needs of immigrant and refugee women living with abuse" ("Government of Canada Supports Project for Women In Kitchener-Waterloo" February 17, 2009 http://www.helenaguergis.ca/EN/helena's_accomplishments_as_minister_of_state_)

they identified and addressed economic development issues that the cities were not dealing with, or at least not to their satisfaction; such as, supporting the high technology sector to create an industry cluster, developing an inventory of available industrial land, increasing the number of physicians in the region, building an arts and culture industry cluster that will attract the talent generation, and establishing networks to support local immigrant employment at all levels of government. Thus, they put new action items onto the regional economic development agenda. In essence, regionally-based public-private partnerships introduced the entrepreneurial cities policy frame to the municipal governments and with it, they broadened the scope of what is considered to be an economic development issue beyond the nuts and bolts of traditional economic development to include investments in: 1) people – the talent and skilled labour needed to innovate and create jobs; and 2) community – the amenities and social connections that provide a sense of belonging into the equation of economic development attraction efforts.

CHAPTER 5: The Cities of Waterloo and Kitchener

It's no longer using land to attract whatever industry happens to be coming. That's why we're moving into a cluster-based strategy. That's why Waterloo has focused on its IT community and supported its research park and supported its uptown re-development (interviewee 18).

1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how the male-dominated, private sector, executive members of the policy community adopted the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and infused it with the local political culture of Kitchener and Waterloo that celebrates the Mennonite work ethic as spurring entrepreneurship and community giving. Throughout the 1990s, they materialized this policy frame with the creation of grassroots economic development public-private partnerships to implement action strategies that went beyond the municipal focus on traditional economic development. The entrepreneurial cities policy frame was used to support the key policy actors' focus on building a high technology industry cluster in Waterloo, followed by other targeted clusters in Kitchener, and to a lesser extent in Cambridge. At the same time, female-dominated services sectors have received little attention and public support from multi-scalar policy networks. Moreover, the public-private partnerships solidified an old boy's network as women were rarely represented on local boards of directors.

As the entrepreneurial cities policy frame was institutionalized in various regional partnerships, however, the creative cities discourse enabled the local policy networks to collaborate on the socio-economic issue of immigrant employment in accordance with the federal and provincial governments' priority on including skilled immigrants in the labour market to overcome an impending skilled worker shortage. Norm entrepreneurs in

the policy community, however, could not push for changes to the status quo on gender relations by explicitly stating women-based concerns as they were outnumbered by diversity supporters and equal opportunists in the policy community. Thus, the regional collaboration emphasized cultural diversity and downplayed women-based or gender concerns, while at the same time placing the issue of immigrant women onto the economic development agenda and increasing women's participation in the policy-making process. Therefore, diversity based strategies are argued to increase culturally-ethnic immigrant women's resources for empowerment.

This chapter shifts the focus from the regional partners to the cities of Waterloo and Kitchener which by the early 2000s were both running out of vacant industrial land for traditional business park developments. This chapter begins by examining the smaller City of Waterloo where the growth management crisis was offset by the private sector-led shift from manufacturing and breweries to business and financial services and high technology during the 1980s and 1990s (interviewee 10). As a result of its strong private sector and local economy, the City of Waterloo has reacted to the private and private-public sectors' lead on entrepreneurial city strategies through regional partnerships, while maintaining a traditional business-retention focus within the municipal economic development department that also views economic development as gender neutral.

The City of Waterloo is contrasted with the City of Kitchener where the private sector had not shifted from a dominant manufacturing base to a knowledge economy so that job losses in the manufacturing sector exacerbated the constraints of growth management policies. This led the city to a crisis point, which propelled a strategic re-visioning process in the municipal government, resulting in the most proactive

entrepreneurial cities economic development strategy among the cities in the region. In doing so, Kitchener's transition from the traditional economic development policy frame to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame required extensive citizen engagement in order to maintain some semblance of accountability as a democratic local government, or in the preferred business model terms, a "responsive service provider." The crisis in economic development therefore, opened the policy-making process to public and expert consultations, which resulted not only in the adoption of an entrepreneurial cities discourse and policy frame but also in a government-wide "healthy communities" lens and a diversity strategy. This chapter continues to develop the categorization of the economic development policy frames identified in the previous chapter by examining the keyword associations in the interviewees' responses and drawing parallels between the use of a traditional economic development and an equal opportunity gender frame, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and norm entrepreneurs, and introducing the final gender frame of diversity supporters.

2. The City of Waterloo

As the smallest and most prosperous city in the region, Waterloo has been called "the darling of the community" (interviewee 8) based on its embarrassment of riches: two post-secondary universities, whose students support core area businesses and create the demand for a services based city centre; a successful high technology sector led by University of Waterloo graduates and industry leaders Research in Motion whose chief executive officers have invested in the core with the creation of centrally-located research institutions; and a thriving insurance sector also located in the small, yet attractive and entertaining city core, which also brings thousands of its employees into the core area

everyday. In short, while urban sprawl is starting to become an issue for the city, uptown Waterloo is well connected to its residents and has not experienced urban decay to the extent that is common to northern, industrial based cities.

During the research period, the City of Waterloo's economic development department consisted of an economic development director (a position which was vacant between 2005 and 2006), an economic development officer, a corporate marketing coordinator, and an administrative assistant. Their limitations in size and resources prohibited the city's economic development department from creating a "community economic development strategy," (interviewee 20).⁵⁸ Furthermore, they held no "overarching philosophy other than improving the economic situation in our community," (interviewee 20). A strong and successful private sector is arguably the main reason why the City of Waterloo has not had to invest heavily in its economic development department, nor has it had to pursue an economic development strategy to the extent that the City of Kitchener has. Instead, the City of Waterloo's economic development department followed the lead of its successful private sector by reactively supporting the entrepreneurial cities strategies, while maintaining its focus on traditional economic development business retention.

This is evidenced first by the fact that none of the interviewees attributed any economic development projects or agenda items to the City of Waterloo's economic development department.⁵⁹ Rather, the representatives of the City of Waterloo described themselves as a partner in a number of regional collaborations and supportive of the

⁵⁸ The City of Waterloo released its first economic development strategy in December 2008. See Appendix G or http://www.city.waterloo.on.ca/Portals/57ad7180-c5e7-49f5-b282-c6475cdb7ee7/CS_EDM_documents/EcoDev_Strat.pdf for the full report.

⁵⁹ No replies were made to my follow-up emails and a phone call in 2007 to the Waterloo Economic Development department to clarify this point.

private sector's ideas. They emphasized "teamwork" among the economic development department and the "collaborative" spirit of the policy community to unite and accomplish projects. Interviewee 20 stated, "a business event doesn't get held in this region without all of the community partners in on it one way or another." The physician recruitment strategy led by the Prosperity Council; the Research and Technology Park led by Communitech and the University of Waterloo; the efforts to establish a bio-technology cluster led by CTT; and plans for uptown renewal led by the Waterloo Business Improvement Area were all mentioned as examples of how the city's economic development department entered into partnerships to support the private sector-led entrepreneurial cities policy frame (interviewees 10, 20 and 23).

Second, the City of Waterloo's strong private sector is evidenced by the fact that six of the key policy actors identified by the interview sample and whose commitment to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame was demonstrated in the previous chapter were based in the private and private-public sector located in the City of Waterloo (see chapter four, Table 4.1 p.151). These include the University of Waterloo President David Johnston, industrial developer John Whitney, Research in Motion co-founder and chief executive officer Jim Balsillie, Research in Motion co-founder, chief executive officer and University of Waterloo Chancellor Mike Lazaridis, Open Text founder and chief executive officer Tom Jenkins, and Communitech president Iain Klugman. Thus, the city's development over the last twenty years has been highly influenced by the private sector's adoption of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and its institutionalization through the creation of Communitech (which was supported by the former mayor of Waterloo Brian Turnball) and the Prosperity Council. The leadership of the private sector

through Communitech, CTT, and the Prosperity Council has meant that the City of Waterloo's economic development department has not had to take an active role in strategically planning local economic development (interviewees 3 and 20). Rather, a handful of private sector executive leaders from the City of Waterloo are responsible for establishing not only the aforementioned Communitech, Prosperity Council and Research and Technology Park,⁶⁰ but also the Accelerator Network, the Perimeter Institute, and the Centre for International Governance Innovation,⁶¹ all of which either support local entrepreneurship or aim to attract talent to the City of Waterloo. In contrast to the City of Kitchener where the loss of manufacturing jobs and growth management constraints led the municipality to pursue a targeted industry cluster strategy, the City of Waterloo's support and partnership in these entrepreneurial cities strategies have come in response to the private sector's ideas to create a globally recognized high technology industry cluster (interviewee 1).

Third, according to interviewee 10, the "high tech[nology sector], ...universities and ... insurance companies...[are the] three pillars of Waterloo" in the new millennia based on their success in the private sector. In contrast to the local automotive manufacturing sector concentrated in Kitchener and Cambridge, which has been adversely affected by the global economy, the comparatively smaller computer and electronic manufacturing sector is growing in Waterloo. Ranked fifth in the region in terms of the number of workers employed, the computer and electronic manufacturing sector employed 7,136 workers in 2003, or 11.3 percent of the total local manufacturing

⁶⁰ Not mentioned by the interviewees was a similar endeavor by Lorne Wallace, chief executive officer of Lone Wolf Real Estate Technologies in Cambridge who invested in a three-story, 60,000 square foot office building named Cambridge Technology Centre in an industrial park on the city's east side to house his software developing company and others (DeRuyter October 12 2005).

⁶¹ Jim Balsillie personally donated \$30 million to create the CIGI (CIGI Press Release July 23, 2002)

workforce. (This was approximately only 2,000 fewer workers than the automotive manufacturing sector after the closure of Uniroyal Goodrich in 2006 and many smaller automotive related layoffs). There were 55 local firms manufacturing computers and electronic products, representing 4.7 percent of manufacturing firms (CTT 2005). The growth of the local high technology sector is attributable to industry leaders such as Research in Motion who employed approximately 3,000 workers and smaller technology spin-offs which were bought by larger technology companies that have kept production in the area (interviewee 1). As interviewee 20 stated, “the tech industries … wanted to establish a clear brand for the area and … they have their ideas on what that brand should be.”

Two additional factors played a role in the City of Waterloo’s reactive adoption of the private sectors’ entrepreneurial cities policy frame. First, the City of Waterloo suffered a democratic accountability scandal in the years leading up to the interview period, which resulted in the termination of the city’s chief administrative officer and a loss in the next election for the mayor at the time. The scandal surrounding the Research in Motion Park saw the city’s politicians and senior public administrators embroiled in a gross accounting fiasco around the construction of a sports facility on the city’s north end. The “RIM Park scandal” as it became known, curtailed the ability of the City of Waterloo to invest in large scale economic development projects as they had lost the confidence and trust of the public. Second, as the city runs out of vacant land to develop business and industrial parks (and housing), it faces increased criticism from its citizens about encroaching developments around the highly desired land surrounding the University of Waterloo, which borders protected moraines (interviewees 1, 15, 17, 20 and

22). With a shortage of available industrial land, and the loss of confidence of Waterloo's citizens, the municipal economic development department has few options other than to follow the lead of its Business Improvement Area, Communitech, CTT and the Prosperity Council in institutionalizing the entrepreneurial cities policy frame which were funded by regional, provincial and federal partnerships. For instance, the City of Waterloo was "very much" pursuing "uptown revitalization" (interviewee 20) in the form of replacing a large discount retail store and parking lot with a public square; high end retail boutiques with the obligatory Starbucks coffee shop, and building "a four star plus hotel with the convention component;" to support events at the Perimeter Institute and Centre for International Governance and Innovation. The municipality also supported the proposal for a light rail transit system that would connect uptown Waterloo with Kitchener and Cambridge (interviewee 10). Thus, the city and core area re-developments reflect the creative cities action strategy of creating culture and leisure amenities to attract the creative class.

Therefore, a successful private sector, higher socio-economic status, and more recently, close political ties to the provincial and federal governments through the philanthropy and ambassadorship of the Research in Motion co-chief executive officers and the University of Waterloo president has softened the impact of running out of available industrial land in the City of Waterloo to do traditional economic development. Rather than leading to a crisis point as seen in the case of Kitchener, the private sector-led establishment of knowledge and service based sectors allowed the municipal economic development department to focus on the traditional activity of business retention, while

providing them with the opportunities to join regional partners in pursuing entrepreneurial city strategies.

It is not surprising then that given their small stature, limited resources, and reactive entrepreneurial city strategies, that the City of Waterloo's economic development department does not recognize women-based concerns or gender issues in local economic development. While at least two interviewees from the City of Waterloo agreed that women are under-represented on the cities' economic development advisory committees; regional boards of directors; and city councils, referring to the low representation of women on decision-making bodies as "disappointing actually," and "a personal grievance to me" (interviewee 20), the following statement suggests an association between a traditional economic development policy frame and the view that gender issues are irrelevant to economic development.

Largely, it isn't pertinent. In eight years, I've never been asked to break any of those [statistics] down by gender...It doesn't matter if it's a man running a company or the types of jobs that want to come in, whether they are for men or women, we don't get involved in those kind of [things]... they don't come into consideration (interviewee 20).

Therefore, interviewee 20 used an irrelevant to economic development gender lens in her professional capacity. In particular, interviewee 20 felt that the collection of gender-disaggregated statistics was unwarranted because traditional economic development statistics (such as industrial space, commercial space, and housing prices) were viewed as gender neutral. Gender and age disaggregated statistics were only compiled in the City of Waterloo to describe the local demographics of the community profile. Employment rates, labour force participation rates, language, and educational attainment were not broken down by gender in the community profile. If they had, they would see that while

the local labour market generally resembles the provincial labour market, women were concentrated in three occupational fields with 67 percent of the female workforce employed in sales and services; business, finance and administration; and social sciences, education, government and religion; while the male workforce was the most diversified and professionalized in the region. The greatest proportion of men were employed in trades, transport, and equipment operators with 19 percent; followed by management occupations (17 percent); sales and services (16 percent); and natural and applied sciences (15 percent). These gender-disaggregated statistics reflect the low representation of women and high representation of men in the management and high technology fields; as well as the over-representation of women in the business, finance and administration occupations, a large proportion of whom are in the insurance sector, which does not have a representative in the economic development policy community. In addition to women's typically greater roles in providing unpaid and caring work, occupational concentrations by gender explain why the policy community has a difficult time finding female chief executive officers to serve on the boards of directors and economic development advisory committees – the most recognized gender issue cited by the interviewees. Therefore, to include more women in decision-making roles, the policy community organizations may have to reach out to the successful and therefore, under-serviced insurance sector.

Interviewee 20 suggested that individual preference and the work-life balance conflict are to explain the under-representation of women in policy-making. For instance, she claimed that women seem to be more involved on other committees such as arts and culture, city trails and the environment than in economic development. In terms of the work-life balance conflict, interviewee 20 stated, "There's still that issue that there aren't

that many women in senior levels of authority in companies who would have the ability to take two hours off in the middle of the day to go to a committee meeting.

Unfortunately,” and “women who are in positions of authority in companies are so busy with work and family responsibilities they don’t have time for additional outside interests, and the ones who do are exceptionally busy.” Thus, interviewee 20 alluded to how women’s roles in unpaid and caring work affects their time to work in the paid economy but still maintained that gender issues are irrelevant to economic development. Therefore, when asked who she was surprised not to see included in the policy-making process, interviewee 20 responded, “More qualified women,” commenting, “I find it surprising but I don’t know if the community does.” There was, however,

This little group of women connected in the economic development community who get together, on an informal basis for lunch every once in awhile... They’re actually just friends. One has a real estate agency. She’s the marketing director. One is the director of the Business Improvement Area. One is the finance officer of another company. One is the vice-president of Communitech. They just got to be friends, sort of keep touch every once in a while, you know, lunch and stuff. I don’t want to say ‘girl stuff’ but you know. In a far more informal basis they would meet rather than a business event or something (interviewee 20).

Therefore, the policy community included a social network of high ranking women who met in much the same way as the creators of the Prosperity Council (i.e. informally, over lunch, see chapter four) but who did not have the same impact on economic development policies as the male private sector actors did, other than serving as a base to recruit women to sit on the cities’ economic development advisory committees.

In contrast, interviewee 10 thought that women were well represented in leadership roles in the community at large (for example on the hospital’s board of directors). He also differed from interviewee 20 who saw gender inequalities in the policy community’s composition and in the division of unpaid work by stating that gender is no longer

relevant in today's society thus making gender impact studies unwarranted and unnecessarily adding more work to the economic development process. Interviewee 10 also felt that the policy community was inclusive and that the absence of labour groups in the economic development policy-making process was a result of the strong local economy, and therefore, unproblematic; thus representing an equal opportunist gender lens. Interviewee 25 also thought that no one was left out of the policy-making process but he did not express any views on gender issues. Therefore, interviewee 25's gender lens is unknown because he did not elaborate on the gender-related interview questions. For example, in reply to the question of whether gender issues had been raised in his organization, interviewee 25 simply stated: "The issue has not been raised." Despite their different gender lenses, all three interviewees 10, 20 and 25 were classified as having an equal opportunity gender frame according to the views that gender issues had not been raised in their organization because economic development defined in terms of the traditional policy frame was gender neutral (interviewee 20); because gender was not relevant in a gender barrier-free society (interviewee 10); and according to the assumption that someone who does not discuss women-based concerns or gender issues would likely agree with one or both of these views above.

There is a markedly different economic development policy frame and gender equality frame expressed by the senior public administrator in the City of Waterloo who participates on CTT's and Communitech's boards of directors. For example, in terms of economic development strategies, the creative cities discourse was employed in emphasizing the quality of life attributes of a city-region to attract investment with this response:

*There is a recognition at the CTT board that the **cultural environment** and **community** is very important for a successful economic development strategy. ... So from a policy point of view, we've focused around ensuring the **high-tech community** is supported, ensuring that our **academic institutions** do well, ensuring that we continue to provide **culture and leisure activities** in the community so that **marketing Waterloo and the region in the broader terms**, it's really around **quality of life and sense of place**... So we've really focused around that and that's really around long term sustainability. It's around intellectual property decisions of the **University [of Waterloo]** which has led to spin off companies, which has led to wealth, which has led to reinvestment into our **academic institutions** and our **community**, which creates that cycle.*

*You know we're not just flogging land here. For the long term design and over the fabric of the **community** and in order to be successful, people have got to want to live in Waterloo Region. And if not they're not bringing their companies...At the end of the day we're really talking about **sustainability** rather than pitching things into economics and environment or the people component.*

This response was the only mention of long term sustainability as the notion of combining social, economic and environmental issues in policy analysis among the City of Waterloo interviewees – a notion that invokes the sustainability policy frame and the community economic development approach. This approach is best represented in the City of Waterloo by Tamarack, an Institute for Community Engagement who led Opportunities 2000 and is currently partnered with the Caledon Institute for Social Research to implement the Vibrant Communities initiative and the Gender and Poverty Project.⁶² The Gender and Poverty Project examined the relationships between gender and the causes of poverty in six Canadian cities and trained the communities in GM. Despite Tamarack's location in the City of Waterloo, however, none of the cities in Waterloo Region were part of the Gender and Poverty Project, nor was Tamarack represented on any of the local economic development partnerships or economic development advisory committees. In a phone conversation with Tamarack's co-founder Paul Born, he explained that Tamarack is not represented in the local economic

⁶² Tamarack – An Institute for Community Engagement <http://tamarackcommunity.ca>

development policy community because its role is to help locally-based grassroots initiatives achieve their goals on a national level by providing knowledge, expertise and coaching on how to build and sustain engaged communities; thus, highlighting the separation between community economic development and mainstream economic development policy-making. More recently he added that he has been asked to volunteer locally as a resident of Waterloo (Born 2007).⁶³ Tamarack's exclusion from the local economic development policy community, however, exemplifies the dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame over a sustainability policy frame and a community economic development approach. It also means that the local economic development policy community has missed the opportunity to gain knowledge from research and development, to lead in the area of community engagement and poverty reduction, and to learn about GM.

Returning to the senior public administrator's gender lens and gender equality frame, however, interviewee 23 stated that while gender had not come up as an issue in economic development specifically, the city was more concerned with representing the diversity of the community, including gender within a diversity strategy.

We've got a diverse multi-cultural society so it only makes sense whether its economic development or any other community engagement process, for us to be successful we need cultural diversity, we need gender diversity, we need age diversity within our various committees because we're richer for it (interviewee 23).

He was also less inclined to say that the policy community was inclusive, responding instead that he thought that the federal and provincial governments were surprisingly absent from local economic development policy-making. Accordingly, this interviewee was categorized as having a diversity lens and a diversity equality frame based on the

⁶³ Paul Born, May 8, 2007, email correspondence.

assertion that gender is only one of many aspects local governments must consider to be responsive service providers and for his leadership role in overseeing that the city pursue a diversity strategy.

The City of Waterloo's human resources department is responsible for the city's diversity strategy, the primary goals of which are to remove employment barriers and to employ a workforce that is representative of the community. To this end, on two separate occasions the city has employed a diversity expert to conduct a two-day diversity training course for all senior staff members who are responsible for hiring. According to the *City of Waterloo Strategic Plan 2007-2010* (City of Waterloo 2008), the human resources department was looking for ways to expand the diversity training to the entire organization and was closely monitoring Kitchener's Diversity in the Workplace Committee to learn from their best practices (research participant 29). Yet despite the argument that gender is considered as part of a larger concern for diversity, neither gender nor diversity were specifically targeted or analyzed by the City of Waterloo's economic development department in any of their policies or programs in light of their equal opportunity gender frame.

In summary, the City of Waterloo's reactive adoption of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame is likely the result of a successful private sector; a small economic development department with limited resources, and the inability to summon citizen confidence in new investments in the aftermath of the Research in Motion Park scandal. In the absence of any economic development ideas being attributed to the City of Waterloo's economic development team, these factors likely weighed greater in the adoption of entrepreneurial city strategies than the fact that the city was running out of

available industrial land to do traditional economic development. Moreover, Waterloo is the first city in which we see the difference between the policy and gender equality frames of the mid-level public administrators and at least one senior public administrator. One of the senior public administrators who participated in the executive decision-making bodies of the policy community shared the entrepreneurial cities policy frame with the private sector and the regional public-private partnerships. He also held a diversity supporter gender frame, whereas the mid-level public administrator who focused on the implementation of traditional economic development viewed the field as gender neutral.

3. The City of Kitchener

The City of Kitchener was originally settled by Christian Germans and called Berlin until the devastating events of the First World War (1916). Today it is known for its annual Oktoberfest festival and strong manufacturing base, which are attributed to the German work ethic of its settlers (see chapter four). With the largest population in the region (204,668 inhabitants in 2006, double the size of the City of Waterloo's population of 97,475); the close ties between its mayor and regional chairperson (who are both in favour of regional amalgamation); and its central location between Waterloo and Cambridge, Kitchener is like the older big brother in the region, looking over its smaller municipal counterparts. Neither the baby of the region – the wealthy, knowledge creation and high technology hub of Waterloo to the north; nor the rebellious middle child – the greenfield-rich and home of the Toyota plant – Cambridge to the south would want to be in big brother's shoes because in the wake of manufacturing job losses in the global

economy, Kitchener's industrial history has left it in an environmental mess with an abundance of brownfields and a deficiency in natural or man-made aesthetics.

Although as a percentage of total employment in Waterloo Region employment in manufacturing increased between 2001 and 2005 from 26.5 percent to nearly 30 percent (Statistics Canada 2006), Kitchener felt the impacts of the global economy with several well-publicized plant closures, particularly in the automotive sector. After the Lear Corporation and Uniroyal Goodrich shutdown operations in 2006, it was reported that the region had lost approximately 3,500 manufacturing jobs in recent years (Hammond February 23 2008). Only a few blocks away, ThyssenKrupp Budd Canada followed suit in 2009 with 1,500 employees losing their jobs. With 25 percent of its industrial base in manufacturing, the City of Kitchener was particularly concerned with the shift from a manufacturing to a service and knowledge-based economy (interviewees 11, 17, 19, 26), as interviewee 11 stated: "There's going to be a shift in the economy and we don't want to be left holding the bags." Other interviewees also commented on the local impacts of the new economic order:

*...The fact that **traditional manufacturing** people in this community have spun out into different things to be innovative I think is also what makes us successful. 22 to 25 percent roughly of our workforce is in the manufacturing sector. We're actually higher than average across Canada which is about 17 percent. But we're dropping in that percentage (interviewee 11).*

*Kitchener is in change mode... The change in the economy, the change in technology, the changing in building structures to satisfy **lean manufacturing** as a result of the global economy. So a lot of the manufacturing is going to Mexico or other developing countries because the labour's cheaper and everything else... Kitchener is very much concerned with the growth of the community (interviewee 17).*

*We're currently doing some thinking about what do we do with our **manufacturing** economy. What is the role of the city in supporting the competitiveness of the **manufacturing** sector because it constitutes 25 percent of our economy. We're*

hugely dependent on it. ... Council's very keenly aware that large manufacturing are closing periodically with a substantial impact on their labour force and regional economy so people are quite concerned about that. ... We hadn't done anything on the traditional industries that make Kitchener a vibrant community so we said given the amount of pressure that they're under and the changing value of the Canadian dollar and the intensifying of globalization, off-shore competition, etc., etc., we should take a look at that (interviewee 18).

...as the heart of the city is shifting away from blue collar work... (interviewee 19).

The keywords that make up the new economic order discourse among the interviewees were their concerns over a growing “service industry” and “knowledge economy” as a result of a “reduction in” or “shift away from manufacturing” to developing countries with lower wages (interviewees 1, 11, 14, 17, 18, 22 and 26); and the need to establish a niche market – even in “advanced” or “high technology” manufacturing in order to be “competitive” in “the global economy” (12, 14, 18, 19, 21 and 22).

Moreover, with no vacant industrial land or greenfields left and the imposing provincial and regional growth management strategies,⁶⁴ the City of Kitchener reached an economic development and sustainability crisis. Running out of greenfields meant that the city could no longer be in the land development business, leading the mayor, chief administrative officer and economic development department to re-strategize economic development activities (interviewees 1, 11, 16 and 22). According to seven interviewees, the former chief administrative officer, Jeff Fielding and the current Mayor Carl Zehr, came up with the idea to counteract the impacts of the new economic order and growth

⁶⁴ The regional growth management strategy states: “*This initiative, unanimously approved by Regional Council on June 25, 2003, seeks to focus growth; build on past accomplishments; attain financial stability; and achieve more compact, transit and pedestrian-oriented development*” (Waterloo Regional Municipality, 2003

<http://www.region.waterloo.on.ca/web/Region.nsf/97dfc347666efede85256e590071a3d4/df8d8858de483ea f8525722d0059b543!OpenDocument>).

management constraints by redirecting the city's economic development strategies toward the core. The goals of the provincial growth management strategy are:

*Revitalize downtowns to become vibrant and convenient centres. Create complete communities that offer more options for living, working, learning, shopping and playing. Provide housing options to meet the needs of people at any age. Curb sprawl and protect farmland and green spaces. [And] Reduce traffic gridlock by improving access to a greater range of transportation options" (Province of Ontario, Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure, June 16, 2006.
<http://www.placestogrow.ca.>)*

Thus, there are strong similarities between the growth management plans and the creative cities discourse that centre on core area revitalization and lifestyle choices.

Therefore, Kitchener's mayor and former chief administrative officer proposed developing targeted industry clusters by redeveloping existing brownfields in the core into education and knowledge institutions and by hosting networking events for entrepreneurs (interviewees 8, 11, 16, 18, 19, 22, and 26). The following quotations reflect how the interviewees described the crisis of "running out of land" and a "surplus of brownfields" within the constraints of "growth management" plans, and what it meant for "traditional economic development" in Kitchener.

I think certainly with regional planning, we're dealing with the growth management strategy right now. One of the areas of discussion is employment lands and the availability of development lands. We did a joint study with the cities, the Chamber of Commerce, ...the Prosperity Council, ...homebuilders and a variety of people, ...to create a final growth plan for the area (interviewee 13).

Some of the newer policies that we've had a lot of input in moving forward [are] things such as brownfield development. As we run out of industrial land we are having to create a new product which is vacant industrial land, formerly used industrial land. So you see that in the downtown initially ...Those may be the opportunities that we have left especially if we're looking at confining the boundaries and you look at the globe and if the LRT [light rail transportation] comes in, that will change how the community develops (interviewee 17).

Kitchener's strategy has been determined in large measure by the fact that it has a surplus of brownfields, 1,000 industrial properties that have been contaminated

and a large portion of them in the downtown...the adaptive re-use of some of our older industrial buildings has taken place because of the investment in the [University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University] schools. These schools are seen as important catalysts for the downtown (interviewee 18).

[If] you want to get businesses to locate in the city then you say 'Here's a big piece of land, here's a parking lot, everything you need is here, affordable land, good schools,' ...this traditional package just doesn't apply anymore. So how do you redefine that? Well, you have to redefine that by intensifying the core... by having more people per acre in the downtown... Kitchener has a very strong downtown re-employment strategy and adaptive re-use in brownfield development... The loss of greenfield space; the shift from manufacturing to a knowledge economy; all of those things mean that we need to have all kinds of intensification strategies ...So the more people who are working downtown and it tends not to be manufacturing, then the more intensified it is. And they also want intensification for residential uses ... All of that combines to make the central economy more sustainable markets (interviewee 19).

There's so much focus on downtown [in Kitchener]. Their focus on traditional economic development is diminishing substantially (interviewee 8).

We had for a number of years like most municipalities, a very large business park development ...and we were getting very close to running out of land and we were faced with the decision, do we do another business park? And when we started looking into that we didn't have a piece of land that was locationally well suited. ...We started to think is there another option ...and that's what got us thinking about a new way to do it. And there [were] a number of indirect external factors that played into that as well. Like it was right around the time the province ...[and] the region was getting very strongly into growth management, starting to redirect growth inwardly. So starting to look for more expansion in a greenfield area for a business park, especially in the area we had started looking at was a water protection area, ... So there was just all of those things going on that we said we have to look at this a different way. ... There were two main priorities... [One was to] continue to support a very strong manufacturing base...At the same time... an acknowledgement that we needed to diversify our base because if we got a downturn particularly in the automotive sector ...we weren't sure that we were well positioned to withstand that in our local economy (interviewee 22).

The region has a real focus on we call it 'growth management', trying to encourage intensification within existing urban areas. So we've done a number of things to try to encourage and support that ...the development of additional employment within the core areas, [and]...an inventory of the land available for development both within in the core areas and other parts of the region (interviewee 24).

According to the mayor, he had been looking for an opportunity to partner with the Waterloo based universities:

Ever since ... 1997 when I became mayor. I ...had meetings with [Wilfred] Laurier [University] and University of Waterloo saying, '[Kitchener] should be more a part of the universities... so how can we, Kitchener and particularly the downtown, become part of the universities?' ... We started using the phrase, we wanted to create an educational and knowledge-based research cluster.

On the directive of the mayor, a full-time Urban Investment Advisor for Downtown Development was hired to “understand how clusters develop” (research participant 26). This person used studies conducted by Meric Gertler and David Wolfe of the Innovation Systems Research Network, (see chapter two); as well as a Waterloo-based study, *Knowledge, Innovation and Regional Culture in Waterloo’s ICT Cluster* (Bramwell, Nelles and Wolfe 2004) to inform Kitchener’s cluster strategy. In addition, a team of Kitchener and University of Waterloo researchers toured several American cities to study successful industry clusters. This was followed by the creation of a small but separate Downtown and Community Development office with a manager to oversee downtown re-development – work that is done by Business Improvement Areas in other cities (interviewees 18, 19, 22 and research participant 26). Therefore, part of the technologies of power used by the mayor and former chief administrative officer to cement the entrepreneurial cities policy frame within the city included generating new financial and human resources to develop an industry cluster strategy, rather than simply assigning the task of devising industry clusters to the economic development department as it existed. The former chief administrative officer and economic development director proposed a \$110 million economic development investment fund to the city’s corporate management team and city council to fund the projected costs of four targeted industry clusters and

brownfield re-development projects based on the administration's research of the city's existing strengths (interviewees 18, 22 and 26). Several interviewees explained the shift from traditional economic development to entrepreneurial city strategies as the new "more sophisticated" economic development strategy that is replacing "more traditional ... economic development, which is land development" (interviewee 18).

We've got a more aggressive cluster strategy approach than the other cities. They're much more traditional in terms of their approach to economic development, which is land development and so on... There was a time when the cities had similar economic development strategies and you could sum it up by saying they were all interested in chasing large industrial manufacturing operations and they were all providing land to support that in the past. In the last five years the industrial supply has basically dwindled. ...As a result of that we have had to develop much more sophisticated economic development strategies. It's no longer using land to attract whatever industry happens to be coming. That's why we're moving into a cluster-based strategy. That's why Waterloo has focused on its IT community and supported its research park and supported its uptown re-development (interviewee 18).

The city has decided to ...make the investment primarily in an education and knowledge cluster ...thinking that would be a major catalyst for the city at large and a downtown revitalization tool... So our role is to make that a friendly process for them so they can re-use existing buildings and intensify the downtown and that fits with the growth management strategy for the region and the "Places to Grow" strategy for the province... The idea for a cluster strategy is to create an environment for them to organically develop because it's not sustainable if it's not genuine. ...Research shows that networking is the number one way to create an environment that will naturally grow businesses (interviewee 19).

Kitchener is focusing in predominantly on four clusters. Education and knowledge creation... biotech and pharmaceutical cluster... arts and culture ...fourth, ...manufacturing... What they're trying to do is marry pharmacy with engineering with traditional manufacturing and trying to come up with a state of art manufacturing facility in the biotech pharmacy field so it brings together all the different industrial strengths in our community. ...So it's not just going out and getting new biotech firms to locate here. It's kind of developing that support system and from that you may get some biotech firms that want to locate here (interviewee 22).

Despite interviewee 22's references to the Centre in the Square (a visual arts museum, performing arts theatre, and home to the Kitchener-Waterloo Symphony

Orchestra) and a summer Blues festival in downtown Kitchener; as a lifetime resident of Kitchener-Waterloo, I can confidently say that no one who has visited industrial based Kitchener, built between the rail lines and Highway 401, would describe it as an artistic-cultural centre. The inner core residents are predominantly seniors and even the major green space (Victoria Park) harks back to the industrial revolution and the city's Germanic roots with a bust commemorating the citizens and soldiers who threw the old bust of Kaiser Wilhelm into the man-made pond during the first world war. The rationale for creating an arts and culture cluster clearly reflected the influence of the Prosperity Councils' adoption of Florida's creative cities theory, in the hopes that building and supporting local arts and culture would make Kitchener more attractive to the creative class. As interviewee 18 stated:

Arts and culture were traditionally part of community services but we've shifted that perspective a fair amount because we now understand a vibrant arts community is critical to the attraction of talent which is critical to the success of knowledge intensive industries so we now see arts and a vibrant cultural life are important economic development building blocks...[the Prosperity Council] articulated that argument... (interviewee 18).

Several interviewees noted that while downtown renewal has been on urban agendas since the 1960s (10, 11, 12, 20, 21 and 22); it has taken on the goals of Florida's creative class theory in many cities where the entrepreneurial cities policy frame is dominant (see chapter two). In Kitchener, "downtown re-development" was often viewed both in terms of Florida's creative class theory and as a growth management strategy. Interviewee 19 succinctly stated, "Everything points toward the centre of Kitchener, downtown economically," when describing the city's entrepreneurial cities strategies to deal with the new economic order, the end of available industrial lands, and growth management guidelines. The keywords, "core area", were often paired with "re-development" or

“revitalization,” or building “a sense of space” or “place” or “confidence in the downtown” to “attract a critical mass of people.” The following quotations reflect the interviewees adoption of the creative class theory in terms of revitalizing the core areas to create “cool downtowns,” as well as other health, educational and leisure amenities in order to attract “talent,” “knowledge workers,” and “skilled immigrants” to compete in the “global” or “knowledge economy.”

We know that growth alone isn't enough to ensure long-term economic sustainability. We've got to create a great place to be. The goal of our economic development strategy is to create the lifestyle – a cool, green community full of opportunities and amenities – that mobile knowledge workers seek (City of Kitchener, Our Future is Now: Economic Development Strategy 2007-2010, 2008:24).

The principle things included in that economic development investment fund were \$30 million [to redevelop downtown brownfields for the University of Waterloo school of pharmacy and for a proposed McMaster University medical school satellite campus], \$6.5 million for Laurier, \$32.5 [million] notionally for the new central library, \$12.1 million for traditional economic development, land development, Centre Block, and several downtown initiatives such as the new entrance for Victoria Park, street-scaping, landscaping to build a better sense of space to attract a critical mass of people (interviewee 11).

The mayor...talked about [downtown revitalization] with the Kitchener Downtown Business Association at their annual meeting. [He said] how do you judge other places? You don't go to another city and say, 'Oh wow, they have a Home Depot and a Canadian Tire.' You don't judge a community by what everyone has. You go right to the downtown and see what's different. I think that's how we're being judged. That was a brave move. There's still a lot of people who don't get why we've invested in the inner city... [City council] had seen that without education and knowledge, without having a place to create the so-called talent for the next generation you risk economic growth and we've lost enough manufacturing jobs (interviewee 19).

There's a huge opportunity for young professionals to enter the real estate market through townhouses and allow people to actually walk to work so they can now live, work and play in the urban setting. So that builds the economy for the core and what's best for the city... so attracting people to live, work and play, that's actually the foundation for the strategic plan (interviewee 19).

The second thing was something that had been on our agenda in many ways over the years... was revitalizing the downtown. And the downtown has a huge impact on our economic development as a whole even if you don't look at it in terms of creating employment it is an attractor or a detractor to new employers that come into the city... We have a very large bohemian culture here... [A]rts and culture is really the same thing as downtown revitalization. It's a huge attractor to the talent generation and the knowledge worker that you're trying to attract to these newer industries. It's almost the underpinning. And we drew a diagram for council and said 'You've got arts and culture as the underpinning and that's going to attract students into the education and knowledge creation which has the research capability and attraction for industry.' So it's almost like a little pyramid that you're building (interviewee 22).

These quotations indicate that while downtown revitalization fits with the growth management principles, it was primarily conceived of as an entrepreneurial cities action strategy in which the downtown functions as an “attractor” to talent and investment through both cluster creation and the development of amenities that allow a work, life, play lifestyle within the core.

Just as the industry clusters strategy was institutionalized by the creation of new funding, resources, local partnerships with the universities, and the establishment of a new downtown-focused office in the municipality, the creative cities discourse also led to organizational changes in the relocation of two city bureaucrats from the community services department to the economic development department “to re-enforce [the arts and culture and economic development] relationship” in the City of Kitchener (interviewee 18 and research participant 26). In addition, the creative cities concept was adopted by the City of Kitchener’s citizen based cultural advisory committee in creating *Culture Plan II*, a strategic layout for the city’s investment in arts and culture as a foundation for economic growth. This investment in arts and culture was supported by downtown business owners such as Marty Schreiter of Kitchener’s economic development advisory

committee and Downtown Business Association, who was quoted as saying “I think we could put a lot more emphasis on the economic power of culture” (Pender April 15 2005).

Therefore, in contrast to the traditional economic development discourse used by the City of Waterloo’s economic development department, where “It doesn’t matter if it’s a man running a company or the types of jobs that want to come in” (interviewee 20); the creative class theory opened the economic development discourse to include broader social – economic issues by focusing on targeted groups of diverse communities in Florida’s indices and theories, namely immigrants (the mosaic index), artists (the bohemian index), and young professionals (the talent index). The greater potential of the creative class theory for equality framing, however, is its emphasis on diversity and tolerance in a community in order to attract the creative class. The test of diversity and tolerance as others have shown, however is how local policy actors treat low income citizens while pursuing the creative class (see chapter two).

For example, in 2005 social justice activists stormed a Kitchener city council meeting, blowing whistles and yelling that they had been denied an opportunity to be on the council meeting agenda. The activists demanded that council spare an historic hotel that was home to low income residents from demolition on Centre Block – a block adjacent to city hall which was a centripetal piece in the city’s downtown re-development strategy. The mayor responded to the activists, ““We will not put anyone on the street. Period,”” (Pender November 8 2005). In the end, unlike the City of Waterloo’s upscale core area redevelopment, the proposal for a new public library topped by condominiums on Centre Block was dropped after extensive media criticism and public hearings in which taxpayers argued that the costs were greater than the benefits. This sort of public

feedback was typical of the descriptions of citizen engagement in Kitchener economic development and supports the interview samples' view that the mayor and senior public administrators in Kitchener were key actors who were consistently involved in policy-making. In 2003, local journalist Frank Etherington described the city's downtown re-development strategy as "closed and clubby":

Take a look at how Kitchener councilors and bureaucrats are managing the expensive, essential business of downtown renewal and two words come to mind. Closed and clubby. Closed because every over-cooked development proposal that flops out of the city hall steamer seems to have been extensively masticated in secret, far from twitching ears of nosy reporters. Clubby because taxpayers who provide millions to finance efforts to revitalize the core are excluded from debate until deals are competed, packaged and dished up by the we-know-best clique at city hall. Consider ... Centre Block... the main library with a condominium on top and a community wellness centre. Both slices of development pie dropped out of the King Street sky with limited or no previous public debate (Etherington June 16 2003:B1).

These reports beget the question of exactly who was involved when,

In 2004, as a result of extensive analysis and public consultation, the City of Kitchener embarked on a new direction in economic development with its Urban Investment Strategy. That strategy shifted the emphasis in economic development from purchasing, servicing and selling industrial land to stimulating new economic clusters primarily in the downtown beginning with the recruitment of two new university campuses (City of Kitchener, Our Future is Now: Economic Development Strategy 2007-2010, 2008:5).

The public consultation in establishing the economic development investment fund included a panel of residents and experts literally switching seats with the city councilors for two meetings to decide between a new business park (on the greenfield space of a neighboring township) or the downtown re-employment strategy (re-titled the "urban investment strategy") (interviewees 11, 16, 18, 22). In the end, both were chosen and part of the economic development investment fund included "\$12.1 [million] for traditional economic development, land development" (interviewee 11; also interviewees 8, 11 16,

18, 19, 22 and 26), so that the traditional economic development policy frame was not completely abandoned. Interviewee 22 described the citizen engagement in establishing the economic development investment fund and urban investment strategy as an exercise that was “an educational process” for citizens on the vacant land in the core and on the difficulty faced by city councilors in deciding on which strategies to pursue and fund and stated that Kitchener residents were “hugely engaged in their economic future” (interviewee 22). Even in this exercise, however, as local journalist Frank Etherington pointed out, citizen engagement consisted of essentially providing feedback on two agenda items that were set by the senior politicians and public administration. While interviewee 16 stated that “Nothing gets done without public input...” she also stated, “We have some very strong women in the community who ‘get it’ and we have some very strong men in the community who ‘get it’ as well.”⁶⁵ In other words, public engagement in local economic development is based on expert input with like-minded professionals.

Three quotes in particular highlight the role of Kitchener’s senior public administration (composed of the economic development directors and chief administrative officers), in coordination with the mayor, as the leaders in shifting city council’s focus from traditional economic development to an entrepreneurial cities policy frame. Research participant 26 stated, “at this point we are merely trying to help people make the philosophical shift ... and begin to appreciate the value of where we want to go”, suggesting that the senior public administration used its expertise to persuade both council and the public of a cluster-based growth strategy. A second participant echoed

⁶⁵ Interviewee 16 was referring to Jane Jantzi in particular, the former City of Kitchener economic development director, who went on to become vice president of Communitech but who had entered the private sector shortly before the interview time frame.

this sentiment stating that it is “fair to say” that ideas come mostly from staff in consultation with the public rather than council. Finally, interviewee 22 stated,

Council is very aware of the economic development situation and they’re very knowledgeable about it but in terms of a major shift in an economic development agenda like that [i.e. cluster strategy]. It’s not something that they would spend time to develop on their own. They would look for some expertise to suggest that to them. So our council has no hesitation to put ideas on the table at any time but in terms of that kind of development of a big strategy, they didn’t do that as a group.

Thus, the senior public administration was most often identified as the creators of specific economic development agenda items in contrast to both Waterloo and Cambridge, which allowed their respective planning departments and active private sectors to determine many economic development projects (interviewees 1, 6, 14, 15, 17, 20 and 22).

Accordingly, all senior public administrators in Kitchener reported a high degree of input in local economic development policy-making. Senior public administrators also represent the cities on regional public-private partnerships where the entrepreneurial cities policy frame dominated (see chapter four).

The shift to a dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame in Kitchener is reflected in its stronger networks with the universities, CTT, Communitech and the Prosperity Council than the cities of Waterloo and Cambridge. The leaders of CTT and Communitech provided evidence of their stronger partnerships, stating: “Kitchener’s got a more structured program. [They] invite us to work with them on the kinds of questions they’re asking,” crediting Kitchener’s politicians and economic development staff with “real leadership” in terms of their industry cluster and creative cities strategies. The City of Kitchener had a representative from Communitech sitting on its economic development advisory committee; whereas the other two cities did not (interviewees 3, 18 and 20). Mayor Zehr was also on the University of Waterloo board of directors, along

with regional chairperson Ken Seiling and Waterloo mayor at the time, Herb Epp. Some regional council members saw this as a conflict of interest in voting on the issue of situating the university campuses in downtown Kitchener (Outhit April 22 2006), thus, reinforcing evidence of an “old boys’ network” (interviewees 16 and 21) in the policy community.

In contrast, none of the interviewees attributed any economic development ideas or projects to the current Waterloo or Cambridge economic development departments since the inception of CTT. While the City of Kitchener’s economic development department was actively producing new ideas in terms of its cluster-based growth strategy, the smaller economic development departments in Waterloo and Cambridge played more supportive roles for private sector led growth. The economic-sustainability crisis and resulting shift from a traditional to an entrepreneurial policy frame and economic development strategies in Kitchener is likely responsible for the high levels of input into policy-making reported by the Kitchener interviewees. With the exception of the City of Waterloo’s economic development officer who ran the city’s economic development department for two years in the absence of an economic development director, the female interviewees who reported a high level of input also used the entrepreneurial cities policy frame (interviewees 17, 19 and 22). The only Kitchener based interviewee to classify her level of input as “medium to high” (even though her occupational rank was not lower than interviewees 17, 19 or 20’s) was the one interviewee who was still largely engaged in the traditional economic development policy frame. In particular, this interviewee described the issues she had been involved in as “business park development,”

So the development of the financing, marketing strategy, managing the business strategy, purchase the land, zoning, all those kinds of things... And then there's a

regional industrial land bank which we partner on that with the other cities and has a big impact on the region's inventory of all industrial land and we played a key role to make sure that they're adhering to what we agree because part of policy is to expand industrial land space and there is land that we didn't agree with in terms of being vacant or ready to market and that kind of thing.

In summary, an economic-environmental crisis of running out of vacant greenfields in the face of growth management constraints and the loss of manufacturing jobs led to a dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame in the City of Kitchener. The entrepreneurial cities policy frame was used to mark the beginning of a “new phase of strategies” for “sustainable” economic growth. Specifically, entrepreneurial city strategies were adopted to compete in the encroaching knowledge economy as the city lost manufacturing jobs by 1) re-developing the core areas; 2) improving the local quality of life and 3) investing in post-secondary educational institutions; 3) in order to attract talent; and 4) encourage industry cluster development through local entrepreneurship. More importantly for the main emphasis of this thesis, however, is the question of how the Kitchener based interviewees viewed women-based concerns and gender relations in local economic development.

First, Kitchener was the only city in the policy community with a norm entrepreneur (the four other norm entrepreneurs being part of the regionally-based public-private partnerships). Second, like in the City of Waterloo, the diversity equality frame was found among the senior public administrators, while two out of three mid-level public administrators were equal opportunists in their gender frames. Third, unlike in the smaller City of Waterloo where gender-disaggregated statistics were viewed as unnecessary, the City of Kitchener was the most progressive in terms of collecting gender-disaggregated statistics, implementing a city-wide “healthy communities” lens, and creating an

employment based diversity strategy, which combines social, economic and environmental concerns within a sustainability framework. Similar to WRIEN, however, women-based concerns were downplayed, while gender as a category was subsumed under a much greater concern for diversity. Despite the “writing out” of women and “folding in” of gender (Jenson and Dobrowolsky 2004; Jenson 2008), like with the case of WRIEN (see chapter four), there are opportunities for diverse women’s empowerment within the city’s diversity based strategies.

Interviewee 19 was the only municipally-based norm entrepreneur because she used a gender equality frame in her research and work. For example, referencing academic Linda Duxbury, interviewee 19 discussed how Generation X and the “baby-boom echo” generation (described as “somebody who was a teenager in 1990”) approach traditional gender roles and a work-life balance differently. According to interviewee 19, the baby boom echo generation values a work-life balance because they are wary about devoting themselves to a corporate world that extensively downsized during their parent’s generation. The baby boom echo generation thus, “is responsible for the majority of new business start-ups,” demands more work flexibility in scheduling and place of work, and is not afraid to say they want time off to take care of their children or to be involved in their children’s lives, including fathers who take parental leave. In her own words, interviewee 19 stated,

So attracting people to live, work and play, that's actually the foundation for the strategic plan... when these young people enter the workforce they want a work-life balance. They are more likely to have flexible work hours, ... And in the creative industries and the knowledge industries, there's more opportunities to be flexible. You're not punching a clock. You can work from home. If you have a child with a fever you can stay at home and get lots of work done and still be taking care of your kid or moms and dads (interviewee 19).

She contrasted these views with “our view of feminism [which] would have been ‘be like a man’, not bring what it is to be a woman into the corporation” (interviewee 19).

Interviewee 19 also discussed the greater number of women receiving post-secondary degrees relative to men, thereby gaining some clout in the “talent pool” with employers; women’s greater buying power, and the rise and success of female entrepreneurs with enthusiasm. Finally, she was one of the few interviewees who considered gender issues in the policy planning stages, such as women’s greater concerns for safety, particularly in core neighborhoods, and the occupational segregation of a proposed digital media cluster, in reference to which was stated:

...There's no [male] dominance....A lot of women are involved in that sort of stuff.... You don't have to have a computer science degree, you just have to be a little bit of an artist and know how to use what they call these toys. And there's no predominance of one or the other (interviewee 19).

Interviewee 18 also held a diversity equality frame because he stated that gender had not come up as an issue in economic development specifically but was “wrapped up into this larger bundle of issues of culture and diversity.” Like interviewee 20 from the City of Waterloo, interviewee 18 also stated that women seem to be more involved on other committees such as arts and culture, city trails and the environment than in economic development. Unlike interviewee 20, however, interviewee 18 did not rule out the collection of gender-disaggregated statistics, saying that while they have not focused on gender-disaggregated statistics in traditional economic development, there were two instances in which gender-disaggregated data was considered. First, they considered the impacts of the gender composition of the incoming student body of the post-secondary campuses built in the core on the types of housing and businesses that would be necessary to accommodate the students (for the profit maximization of the downtown landlords).

Second, they developed a street-scaping and positive promotional campaign of the downtown including new lighting regulations and information on events and restaurants based on an Environics study commissioned by the city, which found that women perceived the core area as dangerous (interviewees 18 and 19).

Interviewees 11 and 22 also used a diversity equality frame even though they held an equal opportunity gender lenses (recall that the gender lens was categorized based how the interviewees considered women-based concerns and gender issues in their daily work, particular in regards to local economic development, while gender equality frames describe the interviewees' overall perspective in defining gender inequality as a problem, solution and action strategy). This is because on one hand, like interviewees 16 and 17 who were classified as having an "equal opportunists," equality frame, interviewees 11 and 22 acknowledged that traditional gender roles and expectations influence men and women's lives but felt that employment equity policies had removed institutional barriers to women's equality so that any differences in equality that exist between men and women are a result of their individual preference, and that they claimed to overlook people's gender. On the other hand, like interviewees 18 and 23, interviewees 11 and 22 included gender among a number of diversity based concerns; while like interviewee 23, they were also instrumental in supporting their city's diversity strategy. Therefore, the diversity equality frame's action strategy in the Waterloo Region economic development policy community focused on a strategy of inclusion rather than a strategy of displacement as in Squires' typology (1999). Accordingly, the following interviewee responses may indicate why the city's diversity strategy overlooks women-based issues and why the municipal bureaucrats who originated and devised the diversity strategy may

have intentionally downplayed gender in favour of other identities, since two of these interviewees were responsible for approving the diversity strategy. For example, this response reflects the claim to overlook people's gender:

When we hired the chief administrative officer, someone made the comment, 'Oh, we're hiring a woman?' and I said, 'Oh, yeah, I guess we are.' It didn't strike me. We were concentrating on who was the best qualified for the job. It hasn't been a major issue for me at all. For some it is unfortunately. I think it's important though that we do have a balance now that women have entered the upper echelons that we don't tip the balance the other way. There's benefits to getting both perspectives (interviewee 11);

while these responses demonstrate the equal opportunists' view that gender equality differences are unalterable because they are a result of individual preference:

Our council is under-represented [in terms of female representation]. It always has been. There's not an awful lot I can do about that. It's who runs and what the public says (interviewee 11).

To be honest, when I worked in planning as I did twenty years ago, the gender difference was huge compared to economic development. There was a lot more women active in economic development than there was in planning and development. So for me, I think the representation [of women] in economic development is pretty good. Having said that if I look at the composition of the board at CTT it's definitely male-dominated but that could be for a number of reasons. It could be that... they just didn't have enough women expressing interest (interviewee 22).

Equal opportunists (interviewees 16 and 17) also tend to view women's participation and level of input in the policy community more positively than diversity and norm entrepreneurs, even though they acquiesce to the fact that women are still catching up to men in attaining chief executive officer positions. Like interviewee 3 in the public-private partnership sector, interviewee 16 also seemed to change her views on gender in the policy community during the process of the interview. At the start, interviewee 16 felt that gender was not an issue in economic development because the labour force "seems to be balanced"; however, in response to describing the extent to which women were

involved in the policy-making process (the interviewee had taken the time to look up and record the gender breakdown of various committees and boards of directors) she replied, “It kind of opened my eyes to the imbalance;” and in response to whether any gender concerns had been raised, she replied: “Well, once I started looking at the boards’ [of directors] concentrations of all those organizations, I think that raises a red flag... Maybe we should start a ...lobby group to get people on boards” (interviewee 16). Finally, in ending the interview, interviewee 16 concluded, “In terms of managing all the processes involved in economic development, there’s still the boys’ club. That will never change. But when you look at that information on the boards, in terms of composition, there clearly is an imbalance.” Therefore, interviewee 16’s gender lens was increasing gender awareness as a result of her preparations for the interview, still she maintained an equal opportunist gender frame because not only did she feel that the male-dominated economic development policy community’s decision-making process could never be changed; she did not problematized the status quo of male dominance in decision-making and mentioned instead on a strategy of inclusion in terms of getting more women to serve on local boards of directors.

Outside of the economic development department, however, the forward and community-minded leadership of several key bureaucrats (research participants 27 and 31), and the economic – sustainability crisis in Kitchener propelled a number of public consultations and commissioned studies as part of the city’s taking stalk of their local assets and re-visioning process. These processes combined with the administrative led research on entrepreneurial city strategies resulted not only in the urban investment strategy but also in the adoption of a “healthy communities” lens and a diversity strategy

within the city's corporate service-provision based model. The follow section discusses how women and gender-based issues were incorporated into the development of the city-wide healthy communities lens and diversity strategies.

4. Women, Gender and Diversity in Kitchener's Citizen Engagement and Official Plans

In the late 1990s, two progressive bureaucrats in the city established Compass Kitchener, a citizen's advisory committee to city council (research participants 27 and 31). In 2003, Compass Kitchener set traffic, growth management, the downtown and the environment as "citizen-based priorities" (*Compass Kitchener, Who Are You Kitchener? Council Presentation 2006*). Also in 2003, the city collected gender-disaggregated statistics in the *City of Kitchener Resident Survey* (PMG Consulting 2003). With 62 percent female and 38 percent male respondents, this survey found that:

Men (68%) were more likely than women (55%) to believe the City does a good or excellent job in terms of employment opportunities... Men (39%) were much more likely than women (27%) to indicate a knowledge of downtown re-development initiatives. Women (61%) are more likely than men (51%) to say they definitely or probably would visit the new downtown market. As may be expected, women (51%) were much more likely to say they would visit the downtown more frequently if more boutique shopping were available than were men (31%) (City of Kitchener, 2003 www.kitchener.ca/pdf/final_report.pdf).

The gender-based stereotype of women as frivolous shoppers aside (i.e. "boutique shopping"), these findings reflect the fewer employment opportunities for women in Kitchener and their lower participation rates in developing the city's economic development strategy centered on downtown re-development. On a positive note, "Women (7.74) rated the overall **quality of life** in the City of Kitchener higher than did men (7.58) [and] except for Doon and Rockway golf courses, women thought all the

services measured were more important to the community than men did" (City of Kitchener 2003).⁶⁶

Later, in 2005, the city commissioned the Environics Research Group to conduct a survey of citizen's perceptions and priorities for local government services and the overall vision of the city. This study led to the street-scaping and positive promotional campaign of the downtown discussed by interviewees 18 and 19. Finally, in 2006, Compass Kitchener embarked on *Who Are You Kitchener?* – a grassroots, citizen engagement process to probe deeper into the findings of the Environics study. Nearly 2,000 people participated in this phase of the city's re-visioning process either online or through various workshops, town hall meetings, "kitchen table chats", meetings with organizations and associations, public phone line, and information booths (Compass Kitchener, 2006).

Based on the findings of the Environics study and *Who Are You Kitchener?* results, Compass Kitchener articulated six key issues concerning citizens: quality of life, leadership and community engagement, diversity, a dynamic downtown, development, and the environment. Diversity has become a major concern of the City of Kitchener's as reflected in several city-wide initiatives and reports. *The Corporate Annual Status Report* includes a diversity vision: "To be a multicultural community in which different ethnic groups are encouraged to retain their cultures and lifestyles" (2007:9). The diversity strategy of the city is to improve "access, equity and inclusion of diverse groups in city programs, services, initiatives and decisions" (City of Kitchener 2007 *Annual Report to*

⁶⁶ "Services included in order of most to least importance: Fire Services, Kitchener Utilities, Snow removal, Libraries, Road and sidewalk maintenance, Youth / Senior Programs, Bylaw enforcement, Recreational facilities, Parks and trails, Parking, Arts and Culture, Community centres, Centre in the Square, Farmers' Market, The Aud., Special Events, Doon and Rockway golf courses" (City of Kitchener, 2003). www.kitchener.ca/pdf/final_report.pdf

Citizens 2007:14). Actions taken by 2007 included a new recruitment and hiring strategy to encourage a diverse corporate workforce (the Diversity in the Workplace Committee), accessibility audits of fifty-two municipal buildings, creating new partnerships with community organizations serving immigrants and diverse ethnic and racialized groups, and support of children and youth with special needs in summer camps (City of Kitchener *2007 Annual Report to Citizens* 2007:14).

Through the Diversity in the Workplace Committee, the City of Kitchener aimed to “create a corporate culture that is inclusive and represents the diversity of our community. Review the Corporation’s diversity, in its broadest definition, and use the results as a foundation against which to measure future change and progress on an annual basis” (City of Kitchener, *2007 Corporate Annual Status Report*, 2007:9). The Diversity in the Workplace Committee was an initiative of a public administrator in human resources and was approved by the chief administrative officer. It is based on the philosophy that as a service-providing organization, the city can provide better services if the workforce is representative of the population it serves (interviewee 18, research participant 27). Indeed, the Corporation of the City of Kitchener reflects a business model of service provision with the goal of “Provid[ing] services to the public that match or exceed the customer's expectations and adopt standards that put people first to ensure excellent customer service.” These standards include a “Service First Approach” which is “Customer Focused [meaning]...understand, anticipate and be responsive to customer needs... [and] Community Minded [meaning] ...enhance the quality, safety, security, health and welfare of the community and citizens we serve” (City of Kitchener, *Foundations for the Corporate Plan* 2002:10-11; 2008).

The Diversity in the Workplace Committee was mandated:

...to ensure that the workforce of the Corporation of the City of Kitchener represents the diversity of the community at all levels of the organization. This Committee will achieve its goal through ongoing review of, development of recommendations for change of, and evaluation of all policies and practices related to attraction, recruitment, hiring and retention (Diversity in the Workplace Committee *Terms of Reference* 2006).

Specifically, the Diversity in the Workplace Committee focused on removing barriers to employment for “Racialized persons and Immigrant groups, Aboriginals, Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals, Transgendered persons, Persons of different beliefs, practices or observances, and Women, within a diversity/anti-oppression framework” (Diversity in the Workplace Committee *Terms of Reference* 2006). Research participant 27 stated, however, that “visible minorities and newcomers to Canada” have received the most attention, while another committee is devoted to examining issues for persons with disabilities (phone conversation August 2008). Furthermore, the Diversity in the Workplace Committee adopted a diversity mainstreaming philosophy to its work by stating:

Diversity and anti-oppression are not merely add-ons to the hiring process. This Committee supports both an approach and a commitment to embedding diversity and anti-oppression into all policies and practices related to attraction, recruitment, hiring and retention. (Diversity in the Workplace Committee *Terms of Reference* 2006).

The City of Kitchener’s Diversity in the Workplace Committee also committed to bringing a diversity lens to its collaborative projects with non-profit and other regionally-based organizations and partnerships such as the WRIEN initiative (Diversity in the Workplace Committee *Terms of Reference* 2006).

Since its inception, the Diversity in the Workplace Committee provided diversity sensitivity training to over 500 city employees beginning with management in 2005. The city’s human resources department added the New Canadians Program, the Focus on

Ethnic Women, and the Working Centre to its locations for job postings, job fairs and co-op placements to increase its attraction and recruitment of immigrant workers. Further orientation to the corporation, a diversity calendar, and an intranet site were created to increase retention of visible minority workers. The Diversity in the Workplace Committee also planned to continue English as a second language, multi-cultural and diversity training for city staff, create diversity posters, change the look and wording of job announcements to reflect community diversity, give time off for religious holidays, provide a prayer room, and conduct a self-identification workplace survey to create benchmarks and measure the City's representativeness (Diversity in the Workplace Committee, *Developed Terms of Reference 2007*). Therefore, the Diversity in the Workplace Committee represents a strong foundation for changing the organizational culture of the city's bureaucracy with respect to diversity. What is still needed from a GM perspective, however, is to attend to the gender differences within the diversity framework. It could do so by adding a gender sensitivity training component to its staff training. The challenge is that gender equality is not prioritized in light of existing employment equity policies, yet the few women who are represented in elected offices and in senior administrative positions and the lack of GM policies suggest that gender relations need more attention in terms of how they affect the way the city is governed.

“Diversity” and “community engagement” have become two of the six themes in the *City of Kitchener’s Business Plans, 2007-2010*, with the twin goals of developing and implementing an access, equity and inclusion policy in terms of service provision and city employment, and a community engagement policy that encourages partnerships and increased public engagement in economic development. The city began collecting

statistics on advisory committees so that they may be more representative of the population. The conceptualization of diversity, however, has continued to focus on cultural and ethnic diversity in the city as well as including and accommodating people with disabilities rather than gender issues. This excerpt from the *Who Are You Kitchener?* brochure summarizes the city's stance on diversity:

Where diversity is one of our many strengths...Diverse communities and groups make up the population of Kitchener. We value the contribution of all of our people. And we believe that our cultural diversity provides a living fabric that binds our community together. We weave the threads of this community fabric by living and working together. And how we relate to each other is key to the pattern, the colour and the strength of this fabric.

We want to continue to acknowledge and embrace the ethnic, cultural, and social diversity of our residents. And we want to encourage our culturally diverse friends and neighbours to retain their cultures and lifestyles, so that we can ensure a strong, rich, dynamic and inclusive social fabric for the Kitchener of the future (followed by a picture of ethnic women performing a traditional dance at city hall in traditional clothes; Compass Kitchener, *Who Are You, Kitchener?* Brochure 2006).

This excerpt demonstrates a strong sense of “othering” in the city’s visualization of diversity, for example, “*encourage our culturally diverse friends and neighbours to retain their cultures and lifestyles,*” (emphasis added) is written from the perspective of a majority us in relation to a minority them. Likewise *A Plan for a Healthy Kitchener* presented a cultural-ethnic identity of “women” by featuring the embroidery of recent immigrant women as part of the Arpillera Project in the Plan’s artwork. The embroidery was chosen to complement *A Plan for a Healthy Kitchener* because:

The Arpillera Project represents an opportunity to build the very fabric of our community, an opportunity to strengthen our roots and friendships, and an opportunity to leave a mark in the development of this ever changing place, a place these women now call "home". These too are the things that are at the very heart of A Plan for A Healthy Kitchener (2007-2027) (Plan for a Healthy Kitchener 2007:16).

Therefore, the city conceptualizes diversity in terms of ethno-culturalism. Moreover, ethnic women are depicted in a stereotypical gender role of working with their hands and relating them to the private sphere of the “home” within the text of *A Plan for a Healthy Kitchener* (2007). This plan summarized the findings of the public consultation processes and set strategic directions for the City of Kitchener from 2007 to 2027 with continued focus on the main priorities already set by the earlier citizen engagement projects (quality of life, leadership and community engagement, diversity, a dynamic downtown, development, and the environment). The healthy community plan working group was presented the World Health Organization’s Healthy Community Model (1984) by city staff as a centre piece in formatting their work for the year and a half (author, personal experience as Healthy Community Plan Working Group member). The healthy community plan working group revised that model to incorporate a cultural aspect to the social – economic – environment components that make up a healthy community. The final report suggests that council adopt a “healthy community lens” in all decision-making.

After the completion of the period of study (2007-2008), the City of Kitchener increased its attention to women-based concerns and gender issues according to a number of municipal documents by using two separate strategies. The first is a continuation of the commitment to consider gender impacts in policy-making as part of a diversity need. The second strategy includes efforts to encourage diverse women’s participation in city government. Under the first strategy, gender is mentioned as part of a diversity strategy along with “culture, age, disability, socio-economic differences and sexual orientation,” (City of Kitchener *Corporate Annual Status Report* 2007:9) but does not receive enough

attention in the form of specific targets, indicators, committees, offices, or policies in the City of Kitchener's *2007 Corporate Annual Status Report* and *The Official Municipal Plan* reports. For example:

In its consideration of housing needs, the City will take into account variations in residents' circumstances, including but not limited to age, gender, lifestyle, household and family structure and size, household income and physical and mental health and ability. The City will consider not only the characteristics of housing which might address those needs, but also the appropriateness and quality of the community settings in which housing is being delivered (Official Plan Part 2 October 1, 2008 Page 1-1).

The City of Kitchener Leisure Facilities Master Plan Volume III (2006) also states that it will "assess and develop strategic directions in key policy areas, such as the Community Grants Program / Affiliation Agreement, gender and disabled participation perspectives, targeted populations and other dimensions" (City of Kitchener 2006:2-4).

The second strategy is exemplified in *The City of Kitchener 2007 Annual Report to Citizens* by "cultivating new partnerships" with community organizations such as Focus on Ethnic Women, an organization that helps new immigrant women find employment and is a partner in WRIEN (2007:14). Also, the 2008 *Departmental Business Plans* stated that the city hosted a "professional development event for women, aimed at education, [and] inspir[ing] women of the Region" under the Leadership and Community Engagement initiatives, as well as looking into arranging unpaid co-op placements with Focus on Ethnic Women community organization in the mayor's office (2008:18 and 55). Therefore, a gender specific plan to help diverse women improve their employment opportunities and create networks with the local municipality is devised within the diversity strategies. Moreover, co-operative placements and networking opportunities have the potential to empower diverse women but the gender focus needs to extend

beyond the walls of city hall and into economic development, housing, transportation, and other policies that impact diverse women's lives. At the time of writing, however, the women specific plans are in the planning stages. Time will tell whether partnerships with diverse women's organizations are implemented and if they are successful at increasing women's participation in local government, enhancing their networking resources and job skills, and empowering diverse women. Currently, however, the emphasis on diversity strategies at the local level parallels Alexandra Dobrowolsky's and Jane Jenson's (2004; and Jenson 2008) description of policy-making at the state and supra-national levels in which "women" are written out, and "gender" is "folded in" to social policy.

In particular the city administration could do more to build the connection between social and economic issues, like the relationship between environmental and economic issues which has been strongly bonded. For instance, *The Official Municipal Plan* states:

Economic development is closely linked to the quality of life of the residents of the City and to the vitality of the City itself. It is important therefore that in planning for the City a balance is maintained between the need to protect the environment and the need for economic growth. Such a balance is necessary if economic development and environmental protection are to occur in such a way that continued economic growth is encouraged without degradation of the natural environment and the quality of life (Official Plan Part 2 November 2005 Page 2-1).

According to the *2007 Corporate Annual Status Report*, the economic development vision is: "to be a community that has carefully planned its neighbourhoods and growth by trying to attract specific types of growth, even it if means restricting some new developments" (2007:21). The "Strategic Directions of the *2007 Corporate Annual Status Report* include following the industry cluster strategy while updating infrastructure and adhering to the province's and the region's growth management plans, as well as the city's *Official Plan* which adopts a "healthy communities" lens. For example,

The City must ensure that future growth happens in an efficient manner, considering fiscal, environmental and social responsibilities, and that it results in complete communities. The growth management strategy is well underway and directly implements and complements the Plan for Healthy Kitchener and will help connect most corporate initiatives (City of Kitchener, 2007 Corporate Annual Status Report, 2007:21);

The city could develop gender specific strategies by following this statement with specific definitions of “complete communities” or acknowledging the link between economic development and “social responsibilities” with concrete goals and objectives. Currently, however, economic development continues to focus on traditional economic development indicators such as building permits, development rates, intensification levels, densities of intensification areas, greenfield densities, capacity for growth versus provincial projections, land budget (potential intensification and greenfield inventories) without a gender or diversity lens (City of Kitchener, 2007 Corporate Annual Status Report, 2007:23). It will be interesting to see how the shift to an entrepreneurial cities strategy influences the municipal benchmarks of economic development as the new policy frame is implemented over time.

In summary, as the largest of the three cities in the region, the City of Kitchener was the most proactive in community consultations and re-visioning processes during the research period. This was in response to environmental and scalar constraints of provincial and regional growth management plans and the impacts of the new economic order on a declining manufacturing sector. Therefore, the Kitchener interviewees, and particularly the more senior members of the municipality, shared the entrepreneurial cities policy frame with key actors from the regional public-private partnerships and combined it with an environmentally-based sustainability policy frame as it reinforced the focus on core area revitalization found in the creative cities action strategy. Meanwhile,

as in the City of Waterloo, the traditional economic development policy frame still featured strongly in the discourse of the mid-level public administrators. We also see that the senior public administrators in both the City of Waterloo and the City of Kitchener, with one exception of a gender neutral lens, shared a diversity gender frame; while most of the mid-level public administrators shared an equal opportunist gender frame, with one exception of a norm entrepreneur in the City of Kitchener. Interestingly, the primary occupation of the mid-level public administrator who was classified as a norm entrepreneur was to implement a cluster-based strategy; therefore, reinforcing the connection between an entrepreneurial cities policy frame and norm entrepreneurs found in the regional based public-private partnerships.

If Kitchener were the only case in the study, it would be difficult to say that the association between an entrepreneurial cities policy frame and a diversity gender frame among senior public administration had any significance because of the diversity strategy that provided diversity sensitivity training to 500 managers in the city. The fact that senior public administrators in the City of Waterloo and Cambridge (see chapter six) and the senior executives in the regionally-based public-private partnerships also used the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and were also diversity supporters or norm entrepreneurs, increases the possibility that the entrepreneurial cities policy frame opens a discursive space to consider diverse people through its emphasis on attracting talent for innovation and competitiveness. Therefore, although research participants 27 and 31 stated that the City of Kitchener's female chief administrative officer was instrumental in supporting and approving the diversity strategy, without further evidence attesting to the effort to strategically frame gender within a diversity strategy, or to engage in strategies

of inclusion or reversal on the part of the female chief administrative officer in Kitchener, it is more likely that the entrepreneurial cities policy frame is associated with a diversity equality frame among senior public administrators, than the presence of a female chief administrative office. At any rate, with one norm entrepreneur in the City of Kitchener (one mid-level female bureaucrat); three diversity (two senior males and one senior female); and two equal opportunists (mid-level female bureaucrats); the city with the strongest entrepreneurial cities strategies also had the most norm entrepreneurs and diversity supporters among the municipalities, and the most developed city-wide diversity strategy.

5. Conclusions

This chapter contrasted the local political actors, economies, and economic development policy frames in the City of Waterloo with the City of Kitchener. In doing so, it suggests that professional and social networks among powerful local private and public-private sector actors in the City of Waterloo orchestrated a fairly smooth and successful transition from a manufacturing economy to a knowledge and service based economy throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In addition, the creation of CTT to perform the external investment attraction efforts for the region enabled the small City of Waterloo to focus on business retention efforts without strategically planning an economic development strategy as it runs out of available industrial land for traditional economic development. Therefore, the City of Waterloo had a reactive adoption of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame following the private sectors' lead with the success of the high technology industry cluster and regionally-based organizations. In other words, the local public-private partnerships in the City of Waterloo added entrepreneurial city

strategies onto the city's economic development agenda. In contrast, the loss of local manufacturing jobs, the shortage of available industrial land, and the imposition of growth management constraints that restricted future traditional economic development led the City of Kitchener to the greatest economic-environmental crisis in the region. In response, the mayor and senior public administrators in the City of Kitchener reached out to the universities, Communitech, and CTT to help create an industry clusters growth strategy that also aims to redevelop existing brownfields in the core area. As a result, the city's administration was introduced to the creative cities discourse through the Prosperity Council, which led to the institutionalization of the ideas of diversity, tolerance and creating cool downtowns as part of its arts and culture industry cluster strategy. The City of Kitchener also undertook extensive citizen engagement processes to help visualize a new identity for what has traditionally been an industrial-manufacturing based city to suit its new economic development strategy as a hip, artistic-cultural centre. These processes solidified a focus on cultural diversity in the city's administration, similar to that found in the WRIEN initiative that downplayed gender due to a lack of political support for women-based concerns.

The male interviewees from Kitchener and Waterloo were all in senior political or administrative positions, and therefore, were more involved in regional collaborative initiatives at a decision-making level. In comparison with the female mid-level public administrators, the male senior decision-makers in the cities shared an entrepreneurial cities policy frame that is likely attributable to their participation in Communitech and CTT and closer social networks with key policy actors from the private sector. The municipally-based male interviewees also felt that gender is an irrelevant issue to

traditional economic development but they differ from the female interviewees in that they were more likely to stress gender concerns as part of a broader concern for diversity and representativeness in municipal processes, reflecting a business model of cities as service providers to “customers” according to local demographics. All but two of the male interviewees from Kitchener and Waterloo (interviewees 10 and 25, both from Waterloo) held a diversity gender frame, which contributes to the argument that the entrepreneurial cities policy frame leads policy-makers to consider how people, or talent drives local economies, so that social and economic issues can be considered in tandem to build strong local labour markets in the global economy.

All but one of the female interviewees from the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo were mid-level public administrators with Kitchener’s chief administrative officer being the exception. Moreover, all but one of the female mid-level public administrators held an equal opportunist gender frame according to the view that women-based concerns and gender issues are irrelevant to local economic development defined according to the traditional policy frame, regardless of their personal feelings on gender issues and women’s roles in local politics and in the policy community. Despite agreeing that they would like to see more women in decision-making roles, female mid-level public administrators were not raising the issue within the policy community. Even the chief administrative officer claimed that gender is irrelevant to local economic development policy-making, despite her support of a city-wide diversity strategy that includes gender as a category. The only female municipal bureaucrat to be categorized as a norm entrepreneur considered gender roles and theory in developing her work on an industry clusters strategy. Therefore, this chapter suggests that most female bureaucrats do not

raise women's equality issues within the municipal bureaucracies of this study, even if they are disappointed with the status quo, and that the traditional economic development policy frame which was the dominant focus for most of the female mid-level public administrators left little room to discuss women's empowerment and gender-based issues in local economic development.

Since there has not been leadership at the other scales of policy-making in prioritizing women, and because women are not the primary clients that economic development departments respond to; the entrepreneurial cities policy frame provides an improvement in the ability to combine social and economic development issues over the traditional economic development policy frame, but does not provide a strong enough basis for considering women or gender roles in local economic development in light of regional, political and federal policies that favour social inclusion based on diversity rather than women's empowerment. That being said, the emphasis on diversity in the City of Kitchener can lead to empowering ethnic women in particular by partnering with Focus on Ethnic Women and through the WRIEN initiative.

In conclusion, this chapter demonstrates that: 1) dominant discourses are spread horizontally across policy networks of executive decision-makers and then downwards through bureaucracies; 2) that some policy frames and discourses are more permeable to considering at least diversity, such as the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and the creative cities discourse; 3) supports the finding in chapter four that the consideration of women, including within diversity strategies depends more on the dominant policy frame than on the inclusion of female bureaucrats in the policy-making process; and 4) also supports the conclusion in chapter four that the priorities of other scales of government

and policy-making influence the parameters of what and who constitutes the social aspect of social inclusion policies.

CHAPTER 6: The City of Cambridge

1. Introduction

So far we have seen that the regional based public-private partnerships, the City of Kitchener and the City of Waterloo's economic development strategies were led by a handful of key policy actors who were in the position of making executive decisions. These actors adopted an entrepreneurial cities policy frame which privileged a male centered discourse based on the local identity of a Mennonite work ethic, the idea that entrepreneurship, and to a lesser extent, immigration are the drivers of local economic development, and the desire to build a successful high technology industry cluster. The latter goal in particular led to a number of regionally-based collaborations which spread an entrepreneurial cities policy frame from the public-private sector to the municipal and regional bureaucracies, where the majority of the interviewees held an equal opportunist or diversity gender frame. Despite the male-biased interests underlying the adoption of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame, its focus on attracting talent created a discursive space to consider social and economic issues in tandem. Norm entrepreneurs in public-private partnerships and in the City of Kitchener were able to lead a regional consensus on the importance of diversity and particularly of integrating skilled immigrants into the labour market and the community. The success of regional partnerships depended on emphasizing diversity, subsuming gender, and not calling attention to women-based concerns with the exception of "immigrant women" through the diversity lens. Nonetheless, diverse women may well be empowered as a result of the diversity strategies.

In contrast, this chapter presents the case of the City of Cambridge, where political representatives have struggled for a separate political and cultural identity from Kitchener-Waterloo for over thirty years. With an economic and environmental landscape abundant in greenfields ready for (traditional) economic development, the City of Cambridge less enthusiastically embraced the entrepreneurial cities policy frame. What is especially striking is that an all-female economic development department did not affect the city's awareness of women-based concerns. This reflects their attachment to the traditional economic development policy frame, the equal opportunist gender frame, and the value of bureaucratic neutrality.

Therefore, this chapter demonstrates that: 1) the local political culture and institutions governing economic development affect the extent to which new discourses and policy frames are adopted; 2) the traditional economic development policy frame and discourse is less permeable to considering women and gender; and that 3) the consideration of women-based concerns and the impacts of gender roles in local economic development depends more on the dominant policy frame than on the inclusion of female bureaucrats who are not femocrats in the policy-making process.

2. The City of Cambridge: “The Middle Child”

Cambridge has had a tenuous relationship with the regional government and its municipal neighbors to the north since it was created by the Regional Municipality of Waterloo Act in 1972, which amalgamated three small towns – Preston, Galt, and Hespeler – into one city under the regional government. Cambridge mayors and regional councilors have continually defended their cultural identity, political sovereignty, and geographic separation from Kitchener and Waterloo (interviewees 7 and 12). Regional

amalgamation debates during the 1990s only heightened Cambridge's reluctant inclusion in the region. The mayor of Cambridge, who is known more for building Cambridge's collective identity than for his involvement in economic development, stated that he and the mayor of Waterloo were "afraid of Kitchener. We're very wary of where Kitchener's always going and what they're up to politically... they want to have a one tier government and they want it in Kitchener." According to the mayor, he and the past and present mayors of Waterloo have been allies in defeating the mayor of Kitchener's and the regional chairman's plans to amalgamate the three city governments into one regional government based in Kitchener. In 2006, he stated:

Cambridge is very different culturally and in many other respects than Kitchener-Waterloo. People don't understand that but it is. You have Oktoberfest as an example in Kitchener-Waterloo and it's a non-issue here. Even though people from all over Ontario go, we have people who go up there but down here it's sort of a blip. I mean it's just a general flavour. It's 70% opposed to amalgamation whereas in Kitchener, the majority of people would like to see amalgamation but of course they'd run it all, that's why. So there's cultural difference very much so, and how we run local government. We're much more fiscally conservative than all the other local players. We will be debt free in September of this year. We're one of five municipalities that can say... we've eliminated our debt (Mayor Doug Craig, May 15, 2006).

Former Cambridge mayor Jane Brewer also maintains the political sovereignty of Cambridge in her position as a regional council member. She accused regional council of trying to act as a city onto itself instead of presenting the interests of the cities they were elected to represent. Other regional councilors from Cambridge have even asked the provincial government to separate Cambridge from the region (interviewee 12).

As for his role in setting the economic development agenda, the mayor believes that politicians should have a "final vision of how big the community's going to be. What kind of mode of transportation within the community you're going to have [and] what

kind of industries you're going to have" (interview May 15 2006). For example, the mayor proposed a light rail transit system to link Cambridge, Kitchener and Waterloo to regional council, based on his research on what other cities are doing (interview May 15 2006). Three years later, regional council approved the light rail transit system to link Kitchener and Waterloo only, stating that the feasibility and ridership studies did not support extending the light rail transit system into Cambridge. Instead, the region plans to provide Cambridge with a rapid bus system by 2011, to which Cambridge Mayor Doug Craig responded: "The citizens of Cambridge are being shafted." Craig vowed to ensure that senior governments know that Cambridge residents feel like second-class citizens... "I am not sabotaging [the light rail transit system plan]. Cambridge has a position that it wants to be treated fairly and equitably" (Barrick June 25 2009). Other than the light rail transit system, the mayor stated that for the most part, he allows the chief administrative officer, the economic development office and the planning department to conduct the city's traditional economic development strategy of converting their abundant greenfield space into industrial land for sale. As he remarked, "I'm quite proud of our economic development [department]. I'm always commenting on how it's a group of five women that make the city prosper" (interview May 15 2006).

The all-female staff includes an economic development director, an economic development officer, a special projects officer and two support staff, who are overseen by a male chief administrative officer, a nearly all male management committee (made up of the heads of the other departments but not including economic development which is represented by the chief administrative officer) and city council. The economic development director acts as a liaison between the economic development office, the

city's management committee, and CTT. In particular she provides cost-benefit analysis to the city's commissioner of finance, presents project proposals to the city's management committee, and represents Cambridge on CTT's advisory committee. She explained that her position as director and the mandate of her department is constrained by the city's strategic policy created in the 1950s which states that the City of Cambridge will "stay in the land development business," (interview June 2004).⁶⁷ This traditional economic development focus requires considerable cooperation with the city's planning department

Given this mandate, the Cambridge economic development office understandably did not take credit for any particular economic development ideas, nor were any economic development agenda items or projects attributed to them by other interviewees. Instead, the economic development director described her office as "the first point of contact by outside agencies" so that some economic development projects "fell in our lap" rather than being strategically planned. This was the case with the Toyota plant, which she described as a "rebirth of growth in our area," while another interviewee colourfully described the attraction efforts as thus:

It fell from the sky and [Cambridge] just said, 'God Bless!' Do you think there was ever any intentionality in going after the Toyota plant? Do you know how they got the Toyota plant? ... The guys who were over from Japan were flying around in an airplane and they went, 'Look at the big green field down there. It's right next to a 401 exit.' That's it. That's the story (interviewee 1).

The growing film industry and the attraction of the University of Waterloo School of Architecture were also ideas borne in the private sector (interviewees 1, 12, 14, 15, and

⁶⁷ Like the City of Waterloo, in December 2008, the City of Cambridge also released a new *Economic Development Strategy: Designing the Future*, which targeted five areas for future action: 1) advanced manufacturing; 2) life sciences; 3) small knowledge-based businesses (employing 10 people or less); 4) the environment; and 5) economic development service delivery. For an executive summary of the strategy, see (<http://www.cambridge.ca/relatedDocs/EconStrategyFinalExec.%20SummaryJan302009.pdf>).

21). According to the mayor of Cambridge, “the School of Architecture was born with” John Wright, a commercial developer and chair of the Galt Business Improvement Area and Tom Watson, a commercial realtor. “They came to me about 10 minutes after I got elected [with] two other business people... and said we want to raise \$27 million dollars” to build the School of Architecture (interview with mayor May 16 2006). Cambridge’s chief administrative officer during the interview timeframe corroborated this account, calling John Wright and Tom Watson very “community-minded.”

Therefore, Cambridge’s all-female economic development department, which continues to implement a 1950s strategic policy and is not credited for new development ideas, ostensibly has less decision-making power and less discretionary control over the trajectory of the city’s economic development strategy than Kitchener’s economic development department, which created the \$110 million economic development investment fund, and to a lesser extent, the City of Waterloo’s economic development department, which operates within its budgetary constraints (interviewee 20). These differences in strategic decision-making power among the three municipal economic development departments point to the relative position of economic development portfolios within municipal governments and in relation to the private sector.

Despite the fact that the Cambridge economic development director was the only woman, the only municipal bureaucrat, and the only policy community member representing Cambridge to be identified three or more times as a key policy actor by the interview sample (see chapter four, Table 4.1 p.151), she and her staff ranked their own levels of input into economic development policy-making lower than any other interviewees representing municipal economic development departments. Additionally,

the Cambridge economic development director claimed that she did not think gender was an issue in economic development because she never personally felt discriminated against based on being a woman. Furthermore, the Cambridge economic development department interviewees placed a greater emphasis on having the support of and coordinating with the city's planning and finance departments to implement economic development plans, suggesting less autonomy within the municipal bureaucracy than the City of Kitchener or the City of Waterloo's economic development departments. It seems then that while the Cambridge economic development director is viewed as a key policy actor by the interview sample, receiving twice the number of mentions than the mayor of Cambridge, the all-female economic development department has little impact on the representation of women's interests and experiences in policy-making. Further investigation into what Cambridge's economic development department does, and how they view their work and the role of women and gender within local economic development explains this lack of attention to women and gender issues.

When asked "*What have been the main issues that you've supported in local economic development policy over the last decade?*" Cambridge interviewees emphasized traditional economic development activities, such as "land development... payment of development charges...[and] business retention." For example:

Local land development is one of the key things in economic development (interviewee 14).

Mostly we handle inquiries of people who are looking to locate here or are already here and need space to grow. Should we develop an industrial park, should we not? Is there land already available in what we have here. A lot of them are looking for some property to help them grow their business size... We develop business parks. We look at our inventory of industrial buildings on a weekly basis so we can point them in the right direction. That's one role. The other role is marketing. ... We are trying to make companies more aware that we are here and we provide industrial

land services. We work very cooperatively with the other communities – Kitchener and Waterloo – to market this area. We do trade shows to market this area as a good business location... So part of my job is to be aware of what we have to offer, essentially a community profile, the labour force, to understand our strengths and weaknesses in the community. And trying to change that and make an influence on that... And part of our mandate is to ensure local businesses are happy and that their business operations run smoothly and if they have any concerns they can come to us and we're there to be their advocate to government, if there's some municipal difficulty, if they run into problems with time delays in getting permits, we try to act on their behalf, to work them through in the office. So I guess we do business retention activities (interviewee 15).

The city has always had a very active industrial land development program. Unlike some of our neighbours we have for many years run the industrial land development program and we've been very successful at it (interviewee 21).

We have five people in economic development ... [Their] primary responsibility these days is again for industrial park development and they get a lot of support from the other departments inside city hall. They have to have support from the planning department and certainly engineering for any physical development of land (interviewee 21).

One of the biggest issues... locally in [economic development] is labour supply... and skilled labour supply. It's really a long standing issue in Waterloo Region... CTT has a standing task force on human resources issues. ...I heard the President of the Canadian Manufacturer's Association at a seminar..., also one of the senior people at Emerson Electric...here in town, and he said, 'In our Cambridge plant we could use 100 to 150 people in any skill category.' He was talking about jobs between \$15 and \$20 dollars an hour... So it's a skill-based issue. It's also an issue of finding people prepared to do a semi-skilled job... (interviewee 21).

Interviewees from other policy community organizations concurred:

Kitchener locally [is] running out of land. Waterloo doesn't have a lot of land but they were really, really, really focused on the technology park. They don't have land ... for anything. They're all coming down to Kitchener and Cambridge... Kitchener is more of a manufacturing – so is Cambridge but they have land (interviewee 17).

...[Cambridge is] a city that's really growing in terms of traditional manufacturing companies (interviewee 8).

So Cambridge was still very strong in industrial business park land so they can still accommodate growth in the manufacturing sector, the traditional industrial sector... (interviewee 22).

The new economic order has not shifted the traditional economic development strategy in Cambridge away from preparing and selling industrial land for manufacturing. Whereas the competitive forces of the knowledge and global economy have led to economic development strategies aimed at shifting from manufacturing to other sectors in Kitchener and Waterloo, all of the Cambridge interviewees said that they work less with Communitech (the high technology consortium) than they do with CTT. The Cambridge interviewees also emphasized a shift in the kind of manufacturing that is being attracted from “traditional to new technolog[ies]” (interviewee 14). They focused more on the keywords “high technology” and “shift from manufacturing” than the “knowledge economy”, “knowledge industries”, “service industry”, “competitiveness”, “globalization” or the “global economy”, which make up the new economic order policy discourse. For example:

*There's a lot of time spent on the **high tech** firms, the auto industry. I think the argument is these days, it doesn't matter whether you're in heavy **manufacturing** or if you're doing software development, it's all **high tech*** (interviewee 21).

*Decades ago this area was so highly concentrated on **manufacturing, textiles and the shoe industry**, ... **women** fell in those industries. Low skilled but intense in terms of production... I remember my mother always talking about piecework. And you know the more you were able to manufacture, the more you made in terms of how high your salary was. You are seeing an evolution in that area, in those types of **jobs moving to Third World countries** and we are starting to evolve into more **advanced manufacturing**... So there certainly is a **shift from the traditional manufacturing to new technology*** (interviewee 14).

*Certainly, there's the **high technology** that's associated with **communication and information technology** but there's also the other aspect of **high technology** and that's **advanced manufacturing**. And the cities of Kitchener and Cambridge tend to have companies that are very instrumental in **advanced manufacturing**... ATS, ComDev, Babcock and Wilcox ... So yes, there certainly is a **shift**. And even Cambridge which has traditionally been a very **blue collar community** is now seeing the focus on being along the **high tech*** (interviewee 14).

Despite the reference to the role of women in traditional manufacturing, the City of Cambridge has not considered women or gender issues in their economic development policies, programs or in their operational activities, as interviewee 15 stated:

I'm sometimes involved in better understanding the impacts of developing an industrial park. I would research potential members, say what we sold in the past ten years, size of parcel, but we never really looked at who we sold to or the types of industries. We do and we don't. We anecdotally look at who. There's a lot of small home grown types of operations and probably if you look at the question of who are running these businesses, most of them are male. And there's not very much start-up, because start-up as an industrial component, female operated...but I don't think we even look at, 'Do we develop a park that's maybe focused more on businesses that are run more by women?' There's no really thought given to that component. I mean there are women run businesses in town, some very well established businesses, but there is no policy development to make it easier or to increase the number of female run businesses. We don't look at that. I mean what would be of assistance to women to start up a business? It would look a lot like in the corporate world and women hit a glass ceiling and you don't see as many women involved in upper level management, which I mean, there are some barriers here that we don't even know are happening – that we can pin-point. It would be interesting.

In other words, the traditional economic development policy frame, which emphasizes mainstream economic and geographic benchmarks, such as tax rates, exports, infrastructure, and the amounts of industrial land and commercial space, leaves little discursive space to consider women and gender, or the impacts of traditional gender roles in the local labour market. For example, interviewee 15 stated, “I’m struggling to find a way to see how [GM] would help the municipality make better decisions... I can’t think of any policies we have where the impacts matter in terms of the female population.”

The same interviewee replied that gender-disaggregated statistics on “women run businesses... are just not important I guess... What would we do with that?” Yet even traditional economic development policies have gender implications as the following example of the City of Cambridge, U.K. illustrates. The City of Cambridge, U.K. applied

a GM tool to a rezoning request from a company that wanted to move its' downtown office operations further out of town based on the statistics that:

*60% of office workers are currently women; 80% of public transport users are female; and 30% of women have daytime use of a car... Surveys show that women have a need for more support facilities and more predictable journey times. ...The gender implications [are that] an out of town office development would disadvantage those without a car, the majority of whom are women. It is also likely to make it more difficult for those with caring responsibilities (the majority of whom are women) to combine a number of different journeys in the normal day....The implications for office development policy [are that] ...an office development policy needs to take account of how potential employees will get to work. A new out-of-town scheme would act as a magnet for further development and thus heighten the potential gender bias created by the policy...A policy needs to be developed, which will ensure that women and men can both access new jobs. This may mean ensuring that public transport policies are put in place alongside the land-use allocations. If this cannot be achieved, then this kind of policy may need to be reconsidered and new office development concentrated around existing public transport hubs (City of Vancouver Women's Task Force, *A Gender Equality Strategy for the City of Vancouver* June 2005: 34).*

Therefore, the city does not examine why women are less represented in industrial start-ups; identify the barriers to women's entrepreneurialism; or question whether women are able to get to work in outlying industrial parks.

GM researchers argue that an organization must be diligent in striving for gender equality in its own corporate policies, staffing and administrative procedures to create an organizational culture that considers diverse women in its programs, referred to as the "organizational capacity" to implement a GM policy (Jahan 1995; Dwyer-Renaud 2005; Moser 2005; Moser and Moser 2005). Cambridge's economic development department and mayor exemplified an equality of opportunity gender lens. This lens was associated with the traditional economic development policy frame among the mid-level public administration and politicians in Waterloo and Kitchener. The equality of opportunity gender lens views gender as irrelevant to economic development and therefore, collecting

gender-disaggregated statistics is unnecessary. Additionally, the presence of women in business and in the economic development policy community is seen as a result of personal preference rather than systemic discrimination as the interviewees believed that employment equity legislation has eradicated gender as an equality concern. For example, interviewee 14 stated:

I guess I never felt the pressure for [raising gender concerns] because I've seen in our experience; it's predominantly female in economic development and I just haven't been in a situation where I've had someone express concern to me from the business community that there's a void in women entrepreneurs and that they're not getting a chance. Personally yes, I think... before I say that, I remember when I ...in 1990... going to the annual meetings which were predominately male in those years, I was probably out of about a membership of 400 or something, I was one of about twenty-five to thirty women so it was a little over-powering when I first started going to these. ... Then I took the economic development position and joined the association and again it was predominately a male oriented environment. And then over the years, kind of comparing it to what I saw in the Treasurers, every year you see more and more women taking on the economic development role. So I think those two sectors have definitely evolved into more and more female participation. ...Every time there's an election there are a few women who I know are out there saying, 'Ok, we've got to get more women on council'. I've never sat down with them to ask what their issues are but I think to some extent it is clear that they do not want a totally male-oriented decision-making process... And I know some of the women who have over the years gone into politics; they said they just couldn't stand by and see an all male council... Although I'm not crying the blues and saying we don't have enough women (interviewee 14).

This response demonstrates an equality of opportunity gender frame by avoiding the issue of barriers to women's professional achievements in a male-dominated workforce and "not crying" about a male-dominated workforce and local government. Three out of the four Cambridge-based interviewees expressed the belief that the level of women's participation in the economic development policy community was a result of individual preference. Like interviewees in both Waterloo and Kitchener, interviewee 14 commented that women seem to be more involved in other committees such as city trails and those pertaining to the environment than in economic development. Moreover, like

others who shared the equal opportunity gender lens (interviewees 11, 15, 20), she made no distinction between women who work in municipal bureaucracies and are protected by anti-discrimination and pay equity legislation and women in the community and private sector (i.e. those who are the target populations of economic development policies), where employment equity legislation often does not apply. When asked “*How have gender considerations been raised, addressed or analyzed in your organization as they relate to economic development policy initiatives?*” interviewees 14 and 21 referred to employment equity policies, stating:

I know our human resources department, years ago, again through either pay equity or additional things, I know they once sat down and said, ‘Ok, how many female employees do we have in higher positions?’ And so I think from there there was more of a tendency to try to promote from within as long as the candidate has the qualifications, and now they’re getting into succession planning but I don’t think it’s specific to ‘now we have to have 25 percent females in higher, top salaries...’ So that’s the extent that I’m aware of (interviewee 14).

No. It’s not something frankly that would be top of mind in the work that we do. There is some, has been some effort in the city generally to make sure that our employees are generally representative in the population that they serve. That has been probably by and large informally done. I’m sure that’s the same probably with CTT and the economic development advisory committee. It’s not something that is – gets a lot of attention. When recruiting is done for the board of directors for CTT and the economic development advisory committee, I think it’s probably fair to say that different sectors of the local economy are represented, that geographic regions are represented, gender would be a low order priority (interviewee 21).

While interviewee 12 replied, “I don’t think in those terms. I just sort of work with people. It may sound weird but I just don’t think in those terms. ... I’m not conscious of it. We just seem to hire good people and a number of them have been women...” In reference to two past female mayors who have both gone on to represent Cambridge on regional council interviewee 12 also stated, “This community doesn’t have a problem putting leadership in the hands of women.”

In the case of the *Women in Business Directory*, which does disaggregate business owners by gender (at the request of a former New Democratic Party provincial government for an awards ceremony [interviewee 15]) interviewee 14 stated: “It’s not that we use [the *Women in Business Directory*] information for anything, it’s more for our clients.” The business model of cities as responsive service providers was also implied by interviewee 15 who stated that there was no demand for gender-disaggregated statistics or GM from their private sector clients and that “It could probably be done. It’s easy enough to do. But it’s just not important I guess. ...In order to do that you have to say, ‘OK, we want to understand better so that we can do this, this and that.’ But there’s no impetus to try to better understand that. There’s no goal right now.”

In summary, three out of the four Cambridge interviewees were labeled as equal opportunists in terms of their gender equality frames because they recognized how gender roles and expectations influence men and women’s lives, but felt that institutional barriers to women’s equality had been removed so that any differences in women’s and men’s experiences as they relate to the workforce are a result of individual preference rather than systemic discrimination. The only exception among these interviewees was interviewee 15’s mention of barriers to women in business, despite her feeling that gender is not a relevant issue in local economic development, nor does it warrant collecting gender-disaggregated statistics, which can be used to “counteract the problems with aggregated data that assume men’s experiences to be the norm and research techniques that generalize findings to both sexes” (Rankin and Vickers 2001:33).

The entrepreneurial cities policy frame was the most used policy frame in the City of Cambridge, particularly in terms of fostering entrepreneurship through the Business

Enterprise Centre and “downtown re-development” or “core area revitalization,” although Cambridge interviewees were not strong supporters of the industry clusters or creative class theories. Core area revitalization was referred to as an urban concern that has long been in the realm of traditional economic development:

The other major initiative that would be typical of many municipalities, we've put a lot of emphasis – time and money - into core area revitalization. We've always viewed that as a vital part of our economic development (interviewee 21).

One of my goals has been to see an institution of higher learning established in the core (interviewee 14).

I was heavily involved in the School of Architecture project. I've been heavily involved in our civic admin [new building] project which is an economic core area revitalization initiative in its own way (interviewee 21).

Entrepreneurial city strategies were not emphasized as a Cambridge economic development strategy because they still have greenfields left to develop, a thriving manufacturing sector, and are not experiencing urban decay to the extent that some other cities are. Instead, Cambridge interviewees mentioned industry cluster and creative cities discourses in relation to what other policy community members were doing, without displaying a strong sense of ownership or belief in these strategies. For instance, interviewee 21 discussed the Prosperity Council’s adoption of the creative cities discourse:

[The Prosperity Council has] used the Richard Florida model for economic development, which has impacted various meetings and subcommittees dealing with human resource issues. The question of finding skilled labour, helping new immigrants find employment, matching skilled immigrants to employers locally. They've also talked about how we could all be investing more in the arts and culture to improve the quality of life.

Three exceptions in which the Cambridge interviewees invoked entrepreneurial city strategies were the physician health task force run by the Prosperity Council, a

construction cluster, and the idea of “building confidence” in the urban core through a brownfield revitalization project. As a partner of the organizations that comprise the Prosperity Council, members of the Cambridge municipality sit on the Physician Task Force which goes “out to universities to try to recruit doctors... because as an economic development office... part of our mandate is to keep a healthy community and one of the ways is attracting physicians” (interviewee 15). The second exception concerns the University of Waterloo School of Architecture which they hope will “become the start of a **cluster locally for a construction technology cluster**” (interviewee 21) by creating networks between it and Conestoga College’s building and construction specialties. Also,

Core area development is one of them. ... We've brought the School of Architecture from University of Waterloo... We raised \$27 million dollars and we brought 400 students... ...Not only are you building a school but you're putting people downtown, and you're building confidence and commitment in the downtown, which is one of those abstract things that can make economic development of some areas take place (interviewee 12).

Yet the Prosperity Council seems to be taking over the development of the “construction technology cluster” with a Waterloo Region focus on “design” to suit its creative cities discourse:

Waterloo Region has the potential to become a global focal point for innovation and quality in design and cultural development. To advance the design cluster in Cambridge, to combine the excellence in contemporary art in the Region with the design excellence of the School of Architecture, and to make use of the School's unparalleled relationships in Italy, we propose to bring the world's largest and most important architectural exhibition to Waterloo Region. ... The new design cluster in Cambridge, which is already active across the Region and recognized internationally, has set the scene for the Venice Biennale Foundation to agree to let the show come here. What will happen during and after this project gets under way will have a significant impact on our Region's future. The Design Cluster's growth is perhaps one of the most important steps in our overall goal to make Waterloo Region Canada's Centre for Innovation and Creativity. Not only do we need this expertise put into practice in our Region, making it a place people want to live and work, but we also need to lead the way in Canada. In order to make the next stage

in the history of Canadian cities a success we must become a culture of design
 (The Prosperity Council 2007, emphasis in original).

Other than the School of Architecture, the Cambridge economic development agenda focused on developing industrial and business parks rather than “cool downtowns” and “quality of life” amenities that are expected to attract the creative class. The following quote reflects how the traditional economic development policy frame remained intact in Cambridge despite the regional influence of the entrepreneurial cites policy frame:

So it's great to advertise Waterloo Region and promote the high tech locally but you've got to have the goods. You've got to have the land, the development sites, you've got to have everything else that people look for. The skilled labour, you've got to have the amenities, medical facilities, you've got to have good transportation linkages. Industry that we hear from are very concerned about infrastructure and access to the US market. All of those are big considerations for them. Local charges and taxes and fees are important but my impression certainly is the major concerns for industry are skilled labour and transportation (interviewee 21).

In contrast to interviewees 12, 14, and 15 who expressed an equal opportunist gender frame, interviewee 21 supported a diversity lens in local policy-making by suggesting that despite “some long standing business interests in the community that are male-dominated” gender issues must give way to a broader concern for diversity in municipal affairs. For example, “To what extent would I say women are involved? Well women are probably under-represented in the economic development process. The policy-making process. I'd have to say it's still dominated by what some people would term I guess, ‘the old boys’ network’” (interviewee 21). Still, he insisted:

Gender issues have been well discussed many years ago in local government. There were some initiatives by past provincial governments to require employment equity plans and that kind of thing which really didn't work very well...within local government specifically – employment equity as well as [a] pay equity initiative. We have a statutory obligation to maintain pay equity. Employment equity, there isn't that same obligation although I think it's fair to say that most of us are probably aware of it and certainly do their best to make sure that any population is

again reflective of the community they serve. So it's not just gender. ... We have a fairly large Portuguese speaking population. We're seeing a lot of new immigrants from the old Yugoslavia... Somalia.... We support the race relations program for instance through the local Y. The Y also runs an immigrant services program to help with issues around housing and training and employment issues. It's not just gender-based concerns (interviewee 21).

A diversity frame acknowledges that gender discrimination exists but sees it as occurring to a lesser extent than other forms of discrimination, and like the equal opportunity gender frame, does not see the need to pay particular attention to women-based concerns in local economic development. As interviewee 21 concurred, “It’s not something that gets a lot of attention,” and “gender would be a low priority.” In addition to the official employment equity and workplace harassment policies to achieve gender equality in the workplace, the Cambridge human resources department has “conducted general diversity awareness training for all staff in the organization, …completed workplace harassment training, … [and] identified diversity initiatives within an action plan to address pending workforce turnover and anticipated skill shortage” (research participant 30). In short, the City of Cambridge’s diversity training program is in its infancy. They have not employed diversity experts or collected disaggregated data on their workforce as the cities of Kitchener and to a lesser extent, Waterloo have.

Lastly, like all the policy community members, the sustainability policy frame was used more sparingly and usually in an environmental rather than a socio-economic sense, with the exception of “establishing partnerships with other levels of government [and] with other organizations” (interviewee 14). The Cambridge economic development department participated in local entrepreneurial cities based partnerships with CTT, and to a lesser extent with Communitech and the Prosperity Council when invited but they did not forge regional collaborations on their own. Rather, the city engaged in

community-based partnerships with Cambridge based organizations such as the social planning council, the YMCA, and the Chamber of Commerce.

The sustainability policy frame adopted in the policy community was largely based on an environmental sustainability discourse, such as “attracting companies that aren’t polluters” (interviewee 14). Developing “sustainable” local markets through “balanced” and a “diverse” industrial sector also featured in the sustainability discourse of the policy community. In Cambridge for example, interviewees stated:

*You have to have a **balance** between everything from **manufacturing** which we have with Toyota to Com Dev which is international in terms of satellite development ... to the **service industry**. ... Therefore, if you get stuck hard with one, i.e. what's happened in Kitchener with the closing of the Michelin plant, you still have a lot of different industries that are supporting the **community**. It's a keyword in how I operate. **Balance** in the **community*** (interviewee 12).

If there's a slow-down in automotive, you don't want all of Waterloo Region to shut down... that is key when you are looking at economic development in a regional area (interviewee 14).

*The economic base of Cambridge is fairly **diverse** actually. A big component of it is the auto industry of course but one of the strengths, [the] benefits of Cambridge is that the economy is quite **diverse*** (interviewee 21).

*Those buildings all up there are twenty year [old] buildings. They're not going to last, so we have to think in terms of **high rise, density*** (12).

Therefore, while the City of Kitchener faced the new economic order by devising a proactive industry clusters and creative cities action strategies, the City of Cambridge spoke in terms of diversifying its economic base without a specific development strategy since they were primarily involved in developing and selling industrial land to any sector. Attracting the University of Waterloo’s School of Architecture to locate in Cambridge was the only planned economic development project discussed by the interviewees and it was conceived of by the private sector. Not only did the School of Architecture work in a

creative cities sense by “creating confidence in the core;” and attracting talent, it was also a brownfield re-development project.

We've brought the School of Architecture from University of Waterloo down here as a core area development issue. We raised \$27 million dollars and we brought 400 students, re-did the textile mill down here into a School of Architecture... And we didn't have a lot of support from the long corridors of the region but it has been a precursor for a lot of the economic development in the downtown (interviewee 12).

The social sustainability factor associated with the community economic development approach was only pursued in terms of creating partnerships with other organizations, WRIEN being a key example of the policy community’s move in that direction.

Interviewee 21 also mentioned Tamarack, a non-profit NGO based in Waterloo that deals with gender, diversity and equity issues through a community economic development approach (see chapter five) but insisted that it is not part of the local economic development policy community.

Thus, after examining the interview and textual data (newspaper articles and city publications) according to each of the cities and the regional public-private partnerships, it is more evident than the picture depicted by Graph 4.1: Frequency of Policy Frames by Regional Organizations and Cities, 2004 – 2006 (p. 126) that the City of Cambridge and to a lesser extent, the City of Waterloo were still invested in the traditional economic development policy frame whereas the City of Kitchener and the regionally-based public-private partnerships had made a greater shift to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame. In addition, the cities that dealt more in terms of traditional economic development had a greater proportion of equal opportunists than the organizations that adopted the entrepreneurial cities policy frame, which were also the only organizations that had norm entrepreneurs working in them.

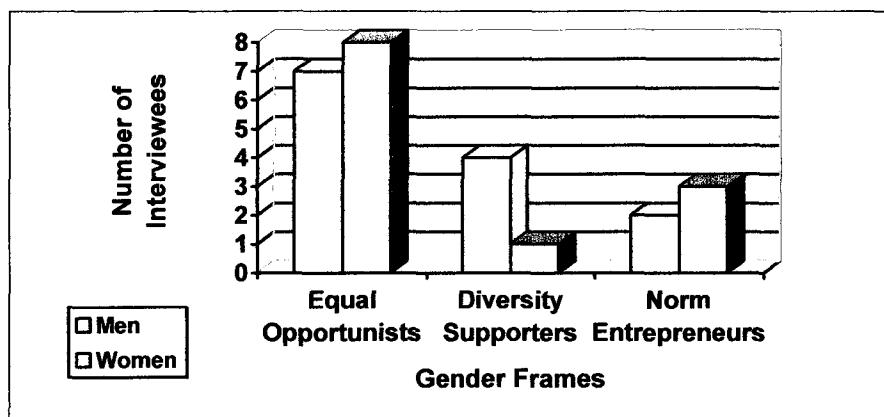
Moreover, women in the policy community did not display a greater interest or commitment to women-based concerns or gender issues than men in the policy community. Twice as many women were equal opportunists (8) in their gender frame than they were diversity (1) and norm entrepreneurs (3) combined, regardless of whether they were in regional or municipal organizations or their occupational seniority. Among the male interviewees, there was only one more equal opportunist (7) than diversity supporters (4) and norm entrepreneurs (2) combined. Only two municipally-based women were among the diversity supporters and norm entrepreneurs and they both worked for the City of Kitchener, where the traditional economic development policy frame was used the least and the entrepreneurial cities policy frame was the most entrenched in economic development strategies. Therefore, with three exceptions (interviewees 5, 8 and 19), women in the policy community and particularly in the municipal bureaucracies were not likely to exhibit strong feminist convictions in their professional capacities or to bring gender or diversity issues to economic development policy discussions. With only two male norm entrepreneurs, men were even less likely to bring gender and diversity issues to economic development agendas and processes; however, the two who did were strong adherents to the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and were employed in the regional public-private partnerships. Men were more likely to be diversity supporters in that they felt that gender issues should be included in the representation and services of municipal bureaucracies along with other demographic characteristics. In total, fifteen interviewees were equal opportunists, five were diversity supporters, and five were norm entrepreneurs. On an individual level; however, norm entrepreneurs were heavily

engaged in the entrepreneurial cities policy frame in comparison with the traditional economic development policy frame; as were diversity supporters but to a lesser extent.

Table 6.1: Gender Equality Frames by Interviewees' Gender

Gender Equality Frame	Men	Women	Total
Equal Opportunists	7	8	15
Diversity	4	1	5
Norm Entrepreneurs	2	3	5
Totals	13	12	25

Graph 6.1: Gender Equality Frames by Interviewees' Gender



Cambridge's all-female economic development department suggests three caveats to the argument that increasing the number of women in the policy-making process will increase the accounts of women's experiences in the policy analysis, and thus policy outcomes that will enhance gender equality. First, it points to the importance of *which* women participate in the policy-making process. The inclusion of the policy target population's experiences, in this case private sector business women, entrepreneurs, and employees could add more female-based experiential knowledge to the economic development policy-making process than the municipal female bureaucrats. The cities could increase their knowledge of the potential impacts of economic development policies on diverse women if more diverse women served on the cities' economic

development advisory committees and downtown advisory committees. In the past, the cities economic development advisory committees had only one or two females serving on them at a time. This was a gender-based concern expressed by one female bureaucrat in the City of Waterloo. In other words, women per se, do not increase the likelihood of including women's experiences in the policy-making process; rather the inclusion of diverse women who are the targets of the policies is necessary to consider women's experiences in policy-making. For example, the Small Business Enterprise Centres could survey their clients to discover and eliminate barriers to female, youth, ethnic, or other diverse entrepreneurship. Indeed, Communitech does exactly this for the high technology sector.

Second, the inclusion of female bureaucrats who do not use a gender lens does not increase accounts of women's experiences in policy-making when they do not speak out as women in all three cities. The overwhelming majority of female bureaucrats adhered to the bureaucratic value of neutrality and a liberal feminist view of equality of opportunity, based on the claim that gender is irrelevant in today's labour market and in their own professional experiences during the audio-recorded interview, even if they expressed women-based or diversity issues off-the-record before or after the interview recording. As interviewee 19 noted, her generations' view of feminism is to be like a man, not to bring what it is like to be a woman, into the organization. In addition, research participant 27 viewed the municipal bureaucracy as being more women-friendly than the private sector due to its merit system and employment equity policies, suggesting that female bureaucrats are treated more equally than women in the private sector. Therefore, presenting women-based concerns in municipal bureaucracies would be a low

order priority at best and counter productive at worst. In contrast, male equal opportunists in the policy community expressed politically correct comments, such as, "We can always do more" (interviewee 4), or "We must always be vigilant" (interviewee 10) in pursuing gender equality even though they were not actively engaging in activities that could enhance women's empowerment or gender equality. Thus, the interview sample reflected a societal phenomenon of political correctness, whereby women feel constrained to voice women-based or gender role concerns in their professional capacity for fear of being negatively labeled as a feminist or 'playing the gender card,' whereas, men who portray feminist concerns are viewed positively as being more progressive. Therefore, increasing the number of female bureaucrats in the policy-making process does not necessarily increase the likelihood of including diverse women's experiences if the bureaucratic culture of neutrality or liberal feminist views that gender equality has already been achieved inhibits female bureaucrats from discussing gender-based issues. This finding underscores the importance of gender sensitivity training emphasized by GM theorists to create an organizational culture in which women and men can freely express gender and diversity based concerns.

Third, the all-female economic development department in Cambridge points to the relative position and power of economic development offices and departments in municipal decision-making. The question must be asked whether the economic development directors and officers are engaged in strategic decision-making at the municipal level, such as in Kitchener and Waterloo or are they limited to providing data and analysis to inform strategies developed by mayors and city management teams, which they will then implement, as in Cambridge? If women in the municipal

bureaucracy are not given decision-making power, then the inclusion of women in the policy-making process who act as “resources” (interviewee 15) does not increase the knowledge of women’s experiences for local GM. It is likely, however, that the continuation of a traditional economic development strategy was a greater contributor to the female interviewees’ low levels of self-reported influence in the case of Cambridge than the placement of the economic development within the municipal bureaucracy since all three cities’ economic development departments are located within the chief administrative officers’ office and none of the economic development directors sit on the cities’ corporate management teams.

Therefore, just as GM proponents argued in favour of adopting and implementing GM to overcome the neutral bureaucratic culture and cyclical political support of national women’s machineries at the state level, so too can it be argued that GM can overturn the neutral bureaucratic culture and dominant equality of opportunity gender frame of female bureaucrats at the local level. This can be done through the employment of gender experts to implement gender sensitivity training throughout organizations. Moreover, this step would be a practical progression in the diversity training consultations conducted by the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo.

3. Conclusion

In summary, the economic development strategy in Cambridge during the case study period (2000 to 2006) was a traditional economic development, business-as-usual strategy. Courteous, cooperative and formal partnerships with other members of the policy community occurred on issues that served their interests, yet Cambridge often

acted reclusively in the region by retaining strong ties with their own Chamber of Commerce to provide marketing and tourism services, even though the city financially supports CTT for the same purpose on a regional scale. They also maintained a separate local identity, built relationships with communities outside of the region, and even tried to separate from the Region of Waterloo. They are able to maintain a position of independence from the region in some regards based on their abundance of vacant greenfields, which allows them to continue to focus on the traditional economic development functions of producing industrial lands for business development and business retention. Therefore, like in the regionally-based public-private partnerships and the case of the City of Waterloo, the City of Cambridge emphasizes the effects of the local political culture on the adoption of the dominant economic development policy frames. In Cambridge, however, the local political culture coupled with an abundance of greenfields led to a continued strong adherence to the traditional economic development policy frame that is not evident by looking at the frequency of keywords alone but which can be seen in the context of the Cambridge interviewees' responses. Meanwhile, their formal partnerships in CTT, Communitech and the Prosperity Council allow them to support the transition of their strong traditional manufacturing base into an advanced manufacturing sector.

Moreover, the traditional economic development policy frame is viewed as being gender neutral according to its mainstream economic measurements of supply and demand (e.g. commercial and industrial space, development fees, transportation linkages) and productivity (GDP and value of exports), and lack of attention to people other than as inputs of labour. Since neither women, gender nor diversity issues were considered to be

relevant to industrial park development, the rationale for tying social and economic issues together, such as supporting immigrant women through WRIEN to the quality of life for the whole community according to the creative cities discourse is missed. (This is not to say that the City of Cambridge does not support immigrant women through other municipal services and community-based partnerships outside of economic development). Therefore, the traditional economic development policy frame leaves little discursive space to consider women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development. This is abetted by a bureaucratic value of neutrality, which leads to the second point raised by the case of Cambridge, the presence of an all-female economic development department.

The presence of an all-female economic development department in the City of Cambridge does not increase the consideration of women-based concerns or gender issues in economic development policy-making when women do not use a gender lens in their professional capacity. In fact, more women expressed an equal opportunist gender frame in the economic development policy community than men; fewer women were diversity supporters, and an almost equal number of men and women were norm entrepreneurs. In addition, only one woman in all three municipal bureaucracies could be considered to be a norm entrepreneur, while the other four norm entrepreneurs were employed in the regional public-private partnerships. This finding points to the dilemmas of overcoming a bureaucratic culture of neutrality (Rankin and Vickers 2001), and the difference between non-decision-making female bureaucrats and women's groups, feminist academics or women from the policy target population as constituting women's

participation in the policy-making process in theorizing GM (Beveridge et al. 2000; Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Moser and Moser 2005).

Thus, there was no consideration of women, gender or diversity issues in the plans to build the Toyota plant or the School of Architecture in Cambridge. From a gender perspective, the argument is not that these economic development projects should not have been built, only that policy-makers could have used them to actively enhance diverse women's empowerment and gender equality through the local labour market and spatial planning if diverse women and gender were considered in policy and project planning, as the example from the City of Cambridge, UK demonstrates.

CHAPTER 7: Women and Gender in Waterloo Region's Economic Development Policy Community, Policy Frames and Institutions: Conclusions

1. Considering Women and Gender in Local Economic Development

This thesis argues that if local governments can use policy tools to shape the local economy, thereby affecting a nation's global competitiveness, they can also employ policy tools that affect the opportunities for women's empowerment and gender equality. Whereas GM has been established at various scales of policy-making, some mid-sized urban regions, such as Waterloo Region, had not considered a GM approach to local economic development. This thesis examines how in the absence of GM, a mid-sized urban region considers women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development policy-making. It adopts a cultural political economy approach to examine how powerful local actors adopt and institutionalize dominant economic development policy frames in response to multi-scalar challenges, and the way these shifting and competing policy frames create discursive spaces to accommodate women and gender-based concerns.

The selected case study area, Waterloo Region, ranks among the top five of Ontario's industrial leaders. It is also home to new immigrants, making it a relevant case of mid-sized Canadian city-regions. Moreover, the two-tiered governance system offers the possibility to examine four cases of the treatment of women and gender-based concerns in local economic development within one urban area. Three cities within Waterloo Region – Kitchener, Waterloo and Cambridge – collaborate through regionally-based public-private partnerships to compete in the global economy, while also

maintaining their individual identities and representing municipal interests under a regional government

This thesis makes three arguments. First, local economic development policy frames are socially and locally constructed with gender implications. Second, different economic development policy frames open or close discursive spaces to consider gender and diversity issues, depending on they way they combine social and economic issues. Third, economic development policy frames influence the institutional arrangements of policy-making bodies, having implications for gender equality and the social inclusion of diverse communities. Therefore, the thesis focuses on four factors that influence the consideration of women and gender-based concerns. These are: 1) the role of women and norm entrepreneurs in the policy community and in the decision-making processes; 2) the local economic development policy frames and discourses; 3) the technologies of power that key policy actors use to solidify discourses into material outcomes, such as institutions, strategies, and partnerships; and 4) the policy community members' receptiveness to gender and diversity issues according to their gender equality policy frame.

The thesis began by defining the new city-regionalism theory and its accompanying entrepreneurial cities policy frame. It focused on industry clusters and creative cities as the most popular economic development action strategies supplanting traditional economic development across neoliberal and social democratic governments. Both its popularity, accessibility (Boland 2005) and its resonance with neoliberal economic strategies (Peck forthcoming) are cited as reasons why the entrepreneurial cities policy frame has become so popular among economic development policy communities over the

alternative sustainable development policy frame as global economic forces diminish the effectiveness of traditional economic development strategies in industrialized settings. The entrepreneurial cities policy frame includes concepts related to the “soft” side of institutions (Leibovitz 2003) such as social capital and livability or quality of life, which lead to more associative forms of governance between public and private sector actors in economic development. Public-private partnerships are then used to cement the dominance of entrepreneurial city discourses within a neoliberalized and multi-scalar policy framework. While livability and quality of life concepts do not adequately compensate for a gender, class or diversity analysis, they can broaden the terrain of what policy-makers consider to be economic development issues to include unequal social relations that affect diverse people’s paid employment, productivity, and ability to be innovative. Therefore, one strategy to get diverse women onto local economic development agendas is to strategically frame women-based concerns and gender issues within the dominant entrepreneurial cities policy frame by framing the goals of empowerment and equality with social inclusion, competitiveness and quality of life (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Verloo 2001; Mahon 2006; Boudreau et al. 2007).

The degree to which the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame is adopted and institutionalized in Waterloo Region in place of the traditional economic development policy frame – and instead of the sustainability policy frame – is determined by identifying keywords in interviews conducted with twenty-five local economic development policy actors between 2004 and 2006 and seven research participants between 2004 and 2009. The identification and association of keywords with particular economic development policy frames is supported by documentary evidence and

newspaper interviews with members of the policy community who did not participate in this research. A brief summary of the cases of economic development policy-making in Waterloo Region is presented below, followed by an overview of the main findings. The implications of these findings for including women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development policy-making are then discussed.

2. Summary of the Findings

This study reveals how a social network of influential male actors in the private sector collaborated amongst themselves and with the University of Waterloo to form partnerships that adopted and institutionalized the entrepreneurial cities policy frame by establishing public-private partnerships and infusing the policy frame with the local political culture of a Mennonite work ethic, entrepreneurship and community caring. The public sector joined the private sector-based partnerships as their success in the entrepreneurial strategies grew, thus creating policy networks that spread the entrepreneurial cities policy frame to the rest of the economic development policy community. These influential private sector actors were responsible for the creation of Communitech, the Prosperity Council, and international investment attractions such as the Perimeter Institute, the Centre for International Governance, and for mobilizing multi-scale collaboration to build the Research and Technology Park, all of which (except for the Prosperity Council) are located in the City of Waterloo. Yet only one bureaucrat from the City of Waterloo, interviewee 23, engaged in the entrepreneurial cities discourses while the rest of the Waterloo municipal interviewees displayed a reactive and supportive role of the entrepreneurial city strategies. A newcomer to Waterloo Region (and Ontario) during the interview period, interviewee 23 may have been attracted to the City of

Waterloo because of its successful high technology sector. Before his arrival, another City of Waterloo interviewee stated that the economic development department would love to create a community economic development strategy but they did not have the resources to do so. After the arrival of interview 23, however, the previously under-resourced economic development department created an economic development strategy which was released in 2008. This suggests that interviewee 23's entrepreneurial cities policy frame is influencing the city's economic development portfolio so that they may do more in the future than play a supportive role for the successful and influential private sector actors who had shifted the city's economy away from manufacturing and toward a knowledge and serviced based economy over the last twenty-five years.

In the City of Kitchener, the male municipal leaders embraced the entrepreneurial cities policy frame as a solution to their economic-environmental crisis. This was brought on by a diminishing manufacturing sector leading to a surplus of brownfields and a shortage of greenfields within its municipal borders for traditional economic development. Therefore, Kitchener displayed a much greater paradigm shift in local economic development discourses and strategies than the City of Cambridge, where there is an abundance of vacant industrial land. As the largest city in the region, the Kitchener mayor and former chief administrative officer reached out to an epistemic community consisting of the University of Waterloo, the University of Toronto's Innovation Systems Research Network, and Communitech, and invested in entrepreneurial cities based research and policy networks. Moreover, the emphasis on core area revitalization found in both the creative cities discourse and growth management policies allowed local policy-makers to merge environmental and sustainability concerns with economic

development issues under the entrepreneurial cities policy frame. The municipal led economic development re-visioning process culminated in a municipal tax increase to create a controversial \$110 million economic development investment fund to implement entrepreneurial city strategies.

In Waterloo and Cambridge, however, there is not the same economic development crises because on one hand, in Waterloo, even though they are also running out of land, the private sector established successful non-manufacturing industries in high technology and insurance sectors and the University of Waterloo operates as an economic development attraction and growth engine for the city. Therefore, the City of Waterloo can focus on business retention and providing quality of life amenities through a weak version of the creative cities discourse, while still relying on the leadership and attraction efforts of a strong and successful private sector and public-private partnerships (Communitech and CTT), situated in the core area of Waterloo under the traditional economic development policy frame. The city's economic development department representatives and political leadership did not connect social issues to economic issues. Moreover, supporting the private sector's entrepreneurial cities strategies created a focus on the male-dominated high technology sector.

In contrast, the City of Cambridge has ample greenfields to continue developing industrial land following a traditional economic development policy. Their attempt to retain political and cultural autonomy from Kitchener-Waterloo also reinforced their traditional economic development orientation rather than the entrepreneurial cities strategies embraced by the City of Kitchener and supported by the City of Waterloo. Therefore, the City of Cambridge had the weakest attachment to the entrepreneurial cities

policy frame. As in the municipal base of Waterloo, the traditional economic development policy frame leaves little discursive space to consider how prevailing social relations affect men and women and diverse women's paid work and community inclusion. Like the City of Waterloo, the City of Cambridge also had only one bureaucrat with a diversity equality frame among the senior public administration, and three bureaucrats who held an equal opportunist gender frame. More importantly, an all-female economic development department did not use a gender lens or express feminist concerns on professional capacity. The city also trailed the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo in planning and implementing a city-wide diversity strategy.

In summary, the cities of Waterloo and Cambridge adopted the entrepreneurial cities policy frame as a result of their collaboration with CTT, Communitech, and the Prosperity Council; whereas the City of Kitchener embraced the entrepreneurial cities strategies as a result of its economic-environmental crisis, its involvement in policy networks with the high technology leaders and key private sector actors, and its emphasis on core area revitalization which reinforces growth management policies. Influential chief executive officers institutionalized the entrepreneurial cities policy frame by creating public-private partnerships (namely, Communitech and the Prosperity Council), which in turn, spread the new dominant policy frame horizontally, i.e. to the executive levels of decision-makers in the policy community through their partnerships with the municipalities and CTT.

The following table summarizes the seven major findings and policy implications of the four cases of economic development policy-making in Waterloo Region.

Table 7.1: Summary of Findings, Case Study Implications and Policy Implications

	Findings	Case Study Implications	Policy Implications
1	<p><i>Local Power Relations</i></p> <p>Consistent with earlier findings, a small number of male elites from the private and public sector dominate the economic development agenda</p>	Gender hierarchy in the policy community whereby decision-making positions are male-dominated	Need more women in decision-making positions (Identified by interview sample)
2	<p><i>Technologies of Power</i></p> <p>Infuse discourse with local political culture;</p> <p>Consult with an epistemic community;</p> <p>Build close policy networks among male elites</p>	Celebrate male entrepreneurship through a Mennonite work ethic; Validate strategies through academic research; Reinforce an old boy's network	The adoption of GM in municipal bureaucracies alone would be insufficient due to the amount of agenda setting done in public-private partnerships
3	<p><i>Gender Equality Frames</i></p> <p>Norm entrepreneurs tended to be in regional public-private partnerships;</p> <p>Diversity tended to be senior public administrators in cities;</p> <p>Equal opportunists tended to be mid-level public administrators and city mayors</p>	Men were more often diversity supporters, suggesting gender is part of a larger bundle of diversity issues; women were more often equal opportunists holding the view that economic development is gender neutral and separating personal views from professional capacities	<p>1. Organizational gender sensitivity training needed for GM to be considered relevant to traditional economic development;</p> <p>2. Women's participation in policy-making needs to extend beyond female bureaucrats in economic development who do not speak as feminists</p>
4	<p><i>Gender and Spatially-based Adoption of Entrepreneurial Cities Policy Frame</i></p> <p>Men in decision-making roles and in K-W adopt entrepreneurial policy</p>	<p>1. Male decision-makers held diversity gender frames; women held equal opportunists gender frames</p> <p>2. Male entrepreneurship in the high technology</p>	<p>1. Federal government needs to make local gender-disaggregated statistics available for mid-sized regions</p> <p>2. Diverse women's</p>

	frame; Women in implementation roles, especially Cambridge and Waterloo emphasize traditional economic development policy frame	sector and male-dominated manufacturing receives more attention from policy-makers than female-based entrepreneurship and female employment in service sector	entrepreneurship needs to be supported at all scales of government
5	<i>Entrepreneurial Cities Policy Frame Created Discursive Space for Diversity</i> People and community considered more than in the traditional economic development policy frame	Diversity initiatives supported by the policy community over gender issues. Prevailing liberal feminist view hinders women-based issues, therefore, only immigrant women were considered in terms of social and labour market inclusion	Immigrant women can be empowered through diversity strategies that focus on their social and labour market inclusion
6	<i>Influence of Other Scales</i> Federal and provincial scales of government influence local activities by providing leadership, support and thus, legitimacy for certain policy agendas over others (i.e. entrepreneurial cities strategies and social inclusion issues framed in terms of diversity). Likewise, horizontal scalar relations with other cities and city-regions legitimized local initiatives (CTT, Communitech, WRIEN, light rail transit)	Multi-scalar support of community agencies allows them to enter into public-private partnerships based on cost-sharing that extend economic development agendas; however, they must act within mainstream priorities to receive support. Hence, the importance of strategically framing social sustainability and equity issues.	Federal and provincial support of community non-government organizations allows them to enter into more equitable partnerships with the local public sector and to extend the economic development agenda to include social issues
7	<i>Women's Participation in Policy-making</i> Public-private partnerships based on entrepreneurial cities policy frame included more women from the community than the	Public-private partnerships included more norm entrepreneurs than municipal bureaucracies and can increase women's	Federal and provincial support of community non-government organizations should be encouraged to expand

	municipal governments' economic development departments and economic development advisory committees that emphasize traditional economic development	participation in policy-making by including women from the proposed policy target populations and non-government organizations	the business based relations of the local economic development policy community to social organizations and local women's participation
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First, the power relations in Waterloo Region's economic development policy community are consistent with earlier urban studies whereby a handful of male elites including private sector chief executive officers and developers, political leaders, and university presidents dominate the economic development agenda (Andrew 1994; Silverman 2003). Women in the policy community were either concentrated in mid-level public administration roles within the municipal bureaucracies, or were senior executives in public-private partnerships on the periphery of the policy community; namely the Small Business Enterprise Centre and the Workplace Planning Board (formerly the Waterloo-Wellington Training and Adjustment Board). Only the three women filled senior positions in the core policy community organizations: the chief administrative officer of Kitchener, the economic development director of Cambridge, and the vice president of Communitech. Therefore, while there are many women included in Waterloo Region's economic development policy community, it displays a gender hierarchy whereby decision-making positions remain male-dominated. The gender imbalance was noted by many interviewees who thought that more women should be appointed to boards of directors and represented on city councils.

Second, the technologies of power used by key policy actors to position and spread the dominant entrepreneurial policy frame and discourses are: 1) celebrating the local political culture emphasizing a Mennonite "spirit" of entrepreneurship and social

obligation; thus presenting a sense of autonomy and control through a “made in Waterloo” solution to the globally based new economic order; 2) employing consultants with the entrepreneurial cities’ epistemic community-based at the University of Toronto, who provide a seal of scientific legitimacy to the new economic development strategies; and 3) the close policy networks among economic development elites, which served to solidify an “old boys’ network” through their repeated interactions and institutional appointments of those who shared their objectives and discourses. In particular, the mayor and former male chief administrative officer in Kitchener partnered with the regionally-based, multi-scalar partnerships in response to their economic–environmental crisis. The City of Kitchener also adopted the new entrepreneurial cities policy frame instead of a sustainability policy frame based on its success in the City of Waterloo’s private sector, its entrenchment in the public-private partnerships, and its resonance with a sustainability policy frame focusing on core area revitalization. Thus, the new policy frame spread horizontally among other predominantly male executive decision-makers through the policy community networks before flowing downwards through the municipal bureaucracies. Executive decision-makers in municipal bureaucracies also used their bureaucratic and political authority to transmit the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and discourses downward throughout the bureaucracy so that the female-dominated mid-level public administrators conveyed the entrepreneurial cities policy frame to a lesser extent than senior public administrators and in reconciliation with their dominant traditional economic development policy frame.

Given the strength of the private and public-private sector in leading the economic development agenda, it is not likely that a GM approach adopted by municipalities alone

would be sufficient. The public-private partnerships that liaise between the private sector chief executive officers and the municipal bureaucrats must also adopt a GM approach for it to be effective. This might not be as problematic as it seems, however, since four out of five of the interviewees who use a gender lens and who actively encouraged women's empowerment and gender equality in the policy community were senior executives or staff of public-private partnerships. These partnerships were usually charged with implementing entrepreneurial city strategies. A second gender equality frame held among the interviewees, and particularly male interviewees in the municipal bureaucracies, was a diversity frame. These interviewees thought that gender issues should be considered in tandem with other aspects of diversity in policy-making and municipal services. Therefore, they and the last and most common gender frame among the interview sample – the equal opportunists – emphasized a strategy of inclusion and reflected a liberal feminist view of equality of opportunity. The equal opportunists thought that gender was either irrelevant to economic development or irrelevant in today's society more generally. Those who thought that gender was irrelevant to economic development specifically were often women in charge of implementing a traditional economic development strategy within municipal bureaucracies. Consequently, counting female bureaucrats who are not feminists or who do not use a gender lens in their work as constituting women's participation in policy-making does not do justice to the idea of including diverse women's views in GM and the policy-making process. Rather, women from the target population of the proposed policies, women-based non-government organizations, and feminist experts or academics are still needed

to present women-based issues in policy-making. This finding also highlights the importance of organizational-wide gender sensitivity training.

The fourth major finding of the thesis is a gender and spatially-based adaptation of the entrepreneurial cities discourses and strategies. The members of the economic development policy community who were most open to identifying and considering gender and diversity issues (i.e. the norm entrepreneurs) were most often found in the regionally-based public-private partnerships rather than municipal governments. When they were found in the municipal governments, they usually held a diversity equality frame and were members of the senior bureaucratic echelons, namely the chief administrative officers who serve as members on regionally-based boards of directors and taskforces. The higher one's position in the bureaucracy, the more likely on is to be male; to be involved in regional collaborative initiatives at a decision-making level and to use an entrepreneurial cities policy frame. They were split, however, in their gender lens and gender equality frames. Politicians held an equal opportunist gender lens, likely attributable to their propensity as incumbents to present a concern for equality of sameness in their role as a community representative rather than as favouring any particular group in the community, and to present a positive picture of equality in their organization and city. Senior public administrators, however, tend to be diversity supporters in that they agree that gender is part of a broader concern for diversity that cities need to address.

Conversely, the lower one's position in the bureaucracy, the more one was likely to be female; the less likely one was to be involved in decision-making in regional collaborative initiatives; and the more one used a traditional economic development

discourse. All but one of the mid-level bureaucrats were also equal opportunists in that they viewed women and gender issues as irrelevant to economic development based on the traditional economic development policy frame, which measures units of land or industrial space developed, built and sold, regardless of the buyer or developer's gender "although, they do tend to be male" (interviewee 15). Therefore, when the entrepreneurial cities discourses filtered down from male-dominated decision-making bodies to women at the implementation level, the women were re-telling the discourses by explaining the economic development ideas of the male-based senior public administration, mayors and private sector, as opposed to adopting and adapting them as the influential men in the policy community had. Therefore, even though most of the interviewees thought that many women were involved in the economic development policy community, women were not playing an active role in setting the economic development agenda.

Moreover, a gender- and spatially-based implementation of the entrepreneurial cities strategies existed so that (male) entrepreneurship in the high technology sector in the City of Waterloo was supported by federal, provincial, regional and local partnerships. Female entrepreneurship in the service sector in Kitchener did not receive the same level of multi-scalar support. Likewise, multiple scales of governance emphasized supporting the male-dominated manufacturing sector in the face of globalization rather than shifting to the female-dominated insurance or other services sectors. From a policy perspective, the federal government needs to make local gender-disaggregated data available and feasible for mid-sized urban regions so that local public-private partnerships can expend their limited resources on collecting qualitative data on factors to support women's entrepreneurship and gainful employment. The federal and

provincial governments also need to support women's entrepreneurship through local public-private partnerships.

The fifth finding is that the entrepreneurial cities discourses were able to accommodate a greater concern for diversity issues than the traditional economic development policy frame because they focused on people (rather than land), and space in terms of the community (rather than acreage of industrial parks and the square footage of industrial buildings). In particular, the quality of life aspect of the creative cities discourse opened a discursive space for considering diversity and social inclusion in the labour market – if not an explicit gender concern – as an attribute for the betterment of the community at large. The more that the entrepreneurial cities discourses were adopted, the reasons became less clear for keeping social and economic issues in separate institutions, and the more the silos between economic and social functions were broken down. This was especially clear in the WRIEN initiative and the relocation of community services staff to the economic development department in the City of Kitchener.

Sixth, community-based organizations such as the Centre for Community-based Research, the originators of the WRIEN initiative have to be careful in the way they present women, gender and diversity issues to resonate with the mainstream context of economic development policy-making and liberal feminism. As research participant 30 stated, a women-based initiative would not be supported in Waterloo Region. This means women and gender issues are subsumed under immigrants and diversity issues prioritized in the federal and provincial governments' responses to the new economic order (i.e. immigration, education, and social inclusion as an economic strategy to replenish an aging skilled labour force). Thus, in the City of Kitchener, which had the most aggressive

entrepreneurial city strategies, adopted a “healthy communities” lens, and had the most advanced diversity strategy for city employees, women and gender issues emerged as an agenda item in terms of immigrant, and particularly ethnic women’s social and labour market inclusion. Older women, single mothers, disabled women, and other categories of women were, however, deemed to be irrelevant to economic development. Therefore, while the entrepreneurial cities policy frame opened the policy community to consider how social relations impact economic outcomes, it did so within the confines of the policy priorities set at the federal and provincial scales, as well as within the liberal feminist view of equality of opportunity. Still, immigrant women stand to benefit from a shift to an entrepreneurial cities policy frame as attention to their labour market inclusion will theoretically increase their economic resources for empowerment.

Finally, the discursive opening to diversity presented by the entrepreneurial cities discourses was supported by a broader concern for diversity and inclusion stemming from the conceptualization of cities as responsive service providers responding to increased immigration and a change in the demographic of their customers. In economic development, however, the primary customers continue to be private sector business elites, so that their demographic did not change as much as it did for the rest of the municipal services. As a result, regional public-private partnerships that combined social and economic issues under the entrepreneurial cities policy frame, such as the Prosperity Council’s taskforces and WRIEN, broadened the participation of women in the policy community through the inclusion of socially-based non-government organizations and members of the target population much more than the cities’ economic development advisory committees. Therefore, although the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and the

institutional arrangement of public-private partnerships have neoliberal underpinnings, the emphasis on quality of life and community in the entrepreneurial cities policy frame allows public-private partnerships to include social based organizations previously excluded from municipal-business relations so that they can increase women's participation in local economic development policy-making relative to the traditional economic development policy frame employed by the municipal economic development departments.

In summary, the extent to which women and gender issues are considered in local economic development policy-making in Waterloo Region are functions of the degree to which: 1) the organization adopts an entrepreneurial cities policy frame emphasizing innovation, productivity, and community attractiveness over industrial land supply; 2) multi-scalar public-private partnerships are involved in policy-making since these organizations led the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and employed the most norm entrepreneurs; and 3) human-resources based municipal diversity strategies can be integrated into technocratic departments such as planning and economic development. These factors suggest that the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and local diversity strategies present a political opportunity to frame women's empowerment and gender equality to resonate with community attractiveness, innovation and productivity by highlighting the gender component of diversity strategies.

3. Discussion of the Findings

There are two findings from the previous section that require further reflection. The first is evidence that counters Bashevkin's (2006) suggestion that public-private partnerships are institutional arrangements that allow governments to offload

responsibilities for local services onto social advocates who would otherwise be engaged in activities to hold governments accountable. In contrast, this study finds that public-private partnerships are sometimes formed to address issues that local governments are ignoring; and that public-private partnerships can provide more inclusive participation in local economic development policy-making than the municipal governments. The second point is related to the gender and diversity debate within the third wave of feminism, particularly in terms of the strengths and weakness of addressing gender within a diversity framework. This study suggests that a diversity based initiative can be empowering for particular groups of women.

3.1. Expanding Economic Development Issues and Women's Participation in Public-Private Partnerships and their Limitations

First, this thesis finds public-private partnerships in Waterloo Region's economic development policy community to be more socially progressive agents of change than municipal economic development departments. This argument is based on their adoption of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame, which expanded the scope of activities undertaken by the municipal bureaucracies. Therefore, the local public-private partnerships in Waterloo Region are more accurately viewed as independent organizations propelling social-economic change than Bashevkin's thesis suggests. I begin with a discussion of the differences between the traditional and entrepreneurial cities policy frames to see how the entrepreneurial cities policy frame expanded the economic development agenda to include social-economic issues.

Although both the traditional economic development policy frame and the entrepreneurial cities policy frame are based on mainstream economics and support the

growth of local entrepreneurs, attracting external investment and skilled workers, and marketing a region to compete in the global economy, the entrepreneurial policy frame identifies people as innovators and talent and locates them within their geographical and social contexts. For example, the industry clusters theory emphasizes the role of research and development for innovation and shared geographies in order to build trust among a network of an industry's developers, suppliers, manufacturers, and sellers so that they can work more efficiently (Porter 1990). The creative cities theory focuses on attracting the innovative but finicky creative class lured to urban centres by the availability of socially inclusive amenities and attitudes. Accordingly, the economic development attractors used to entice external investment under the traditional economic development policy frame (i.e. industrial land, office space, parking lots, infrastructure, and affordable, skilled workers) focuses on cool downtowns, arts and cultural activities, state of the art health facilities and research institutions, parks and recreational activities, as well as tolerant and open societies (Florida 2002). Thus, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame emphasizes the role of human capital and social networks to compete in the knowledge economy. Post-secondary educational institutions become a pivotal force in entrepreneurial cities as a facility for research and development, as well as an attractor for the talent generation. Social networks not only increase innovation and efficiency through the face-to-face interactions and exchanges of ideas and information in industry clusters; they also provide a sense of experience and belonging for the creatives who are just as likely to congregate in coffee shops and dog parks as they are in libraries and laboratories. In essence, the transition from a traditional economic development policy frame to an entrepreneurial cities policy frame shifts the focus in local economic development from

land, space, and development fees to people, social capital and spatial relations. In other words, the people, community and culture become the primary attractors from the economic development policy-makers' standpoint, while the terrain and tax rates are secondary; though still important considerations for business.

The point of this shift in priorities is that it opens a discursive space for economic development policy-makers to consider people and how they fit into the local labour market and the community at large. The more that discourses weave social issues into economic issues, the more they can accommodate gender and diversity issues. This was witnessed in Waterloo Region by the social networks that created the Prosperity Council. They opened the traditional, private sector, male-dominated business and municipality based economic development policy community to partnerships with social agencies in the WRIEN initiative (supported by political leadership from the federal and provincial governments). Thus, we see economic development policy community members mobilize around the issues of attracting physicians to an underserviced community and partner with organizations from grassroots to the federal scale to match skilled immigrants to local employers – two socio-economic issues that the municipal economic development departments did not identify.

Not only did the issues that became part of the economic development agenda expand under the influence of local public-private partnerships but the economic development policy community became more porous to non-business elites and to women by partnering with social agencies in WRIEN. Typically, economic development power relations include local politicians, senior public administrators and business interests whose private or semi-private meetings have been described as “closed and

clubby" (Etherington 2003:B1). The post-secondary campuses established in Kitchener and Cambridge are examples of the close and closed relationships between city mayors, private business men and the University of Waterloo. The business model of municipalities as responsive service providers reinforces the closed business-government relations within economic development, where the primary customers are the business community. Yet, when the private sector mobilized to create Communitech and the Prosperity Council as a result of their expressed dissatisfaction with the narrow focus of the traditional economic development policy frame, the municipal governments became responsive to the social issues adopted by these organizations, such as the physician task force. Although the public-private policy networks created through these initiatives were still business-government based at this point, they opened a discursive space for the inclusion of broader social issues on the economic development agenda. Therefore, when they were approached by the not-for-profit sector to create the WRIEN initiative, a rationale for considering socio-economic issues in tandem had already been established in the policy community. In other words, as the entrepreneurial cities discourse spread through the policy community, the reasons for keeping social and economic issues separate became less clear, "silos were broken down" (research participant 30), and the more socially-based actors were allowed to participate in the policy-making process.

The opening in the policy community to socially-based organizations and actors is primarily evidenced by the WRIEN initiative where the membership was greater than a two to one ratio of women to men. In contrast, the traditional way of setting the economic development agenda wherein mayors and public administrators meet with business elites in private boardrooms or at business functions typically includes few women in the

decision-making process due to the fact that few women hold these positions. The partnerships with social-based organizations greatly increases the participation of executive level women and women from the target population considering that economic development advisory committees, city corporate management teams,⁶⁸ city councils, and board of directors rarely had more than one female member serving on them at a time.

Although on the peripheral ring of the policy community, these community-based partnerships could be used by norm entrepreneurs in the policy community to increase the number of women who serve on the city's economic development advisory committees and boards of directors.

Thus, while the creation of CTT fits the NPM description of government offloading responsibilities to the private sector (Bashevkin 2006:15); Communitech, the Prosperity Council and WRIEN do not. These organizations were a result of a private and not-for-profit sector mobilizing in response to the perceived failure of local governments to address traditional economic development issues (Communitech and the Prosperity Council), and social-economic inclusion (WRIEN). Moreover, the attention to people and their socio-economic and geographically based needs under the entrepreneurial cities policy frame opened a discursive space for considering social and economic issues within economic development and eventually opened the policy community to more socially based and female participation in the policy-making process. Therefore, this thesis finds that public-private partnerships resulting from the shift to an entrepreneurial cities policy frame can enhance the democracy of the technocratic and elite-based field of economic development policy-making in certain cases. Thus, CTT, Communitech and the

⁶⁸ The City of Kitchener had the greatest gender equity on its corporate management committee.

Prosperity Council retained male-dominated boards of directors and taskforces, while WRIEN did not.

The capacity of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame and for public-private partnerships to create more inclusive, community-based economic development policies may have its limitations, however. The first is the continuation of an old boy's network in economic development policy-making; second, women-based concerns and gender issues in economic development policy-making continue to be largely overlooked; and third, low income residents are also overlooked or displaced by core area revitalization efforts.

First, the profit-maximizing private sector actors who introduced the entrepreneurial cities policy frame did not intend to create a discursive space for social issues and to open the policy community to socially based agencies and more women. At first, the repeated interactions of the private and private-public sector elites who created Communitech and the Prosperity Council reinforced the old boys' network of influential agenda setters and decision-makers. Moreover, these socially-based policy networks were influenced by, and propagated the connection between, the local political culture described as the "Mennonite spirit" and the success of local entrepreneurs who drive local economic development. In other words, the key policy actors infused the entrepreneurial cities policy frame with their local culture and adapted it to suit the local context. Once they had invoked the Mennonite spirit of entrepreneurialism and community caring, however, the policy community elites could not turn their backs on community-based socio-economic actions.

Second, the locally construed conservative spin on Florida's creative cities theory emphasized skilled professionals living in families over unattached, single professionals;

racial diversity inclusion over Florida's "open" or "tolerant" societies vis-à-vis the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual community; quality of life amenities (particularly, arts and culture; urban renewal, and education and knowledge creation facilities); and the knowledge-based and high technology industry clusters. At the same time, the local policy community continued to focus on the basics of economic development, namely, supporting traditional manufacturing and building infrastructure, transportation and affordable housing markets for a comprehensive quality of life approach to attract talent and external investment. Therefore, like Florida's theory, Waterloo Region's quality of life discourse does not acknowledge women-based concerns or unequal gender relations. Consequently, child care and a work-life balance issues were not on the economic development agenda.

Third, city officials and economic development policy-makers may follow entrepreneurial city strategies without considering the impacts of creating cool downtowns on the creative have-nots (McCann 2007; Krueger and Savage 2007). Thus, social justice activists stormed Kitchener's city hall during a council meeting concerning the development proposals for Centre Block.

Despite these limitations, the entrepreneurial cities policy frame in Waterloo Region has been used by local actors to include a broader array of socio-economic issues and participation in the economic development policy community. Although it is not as inclusive as a social sustainability policy frame or a community economic development approach (as described in chapter two), the entrepreneurial cities policy frame marks a progression from the traditional economic development policy frame to expand the limits of economic development activities. In Waterloo Region for instance, economic

development activities broadened to include a focus on the economic inclusion of diverse peoples, and immigrants in particular.

3.2. Women-based Concerns and Gender Issues within Diversity Initiatives

Chapter one presented Hankivsky's (2005) proposition that GM should give way to diversity mainstreaming in order to harmonize feminist theory and praxis based on the theory and methodology of intersectionality. In addition to Hankivsky's arguments, this thesis suggests that a diversity mainstreaming approach would likely be more acceptable to policy-makers and business interests than women-based concerns under a gender approach. Second, organizations could easily offer gender sensitivity training within diversity strategies. Most importantly, however, particular groups of women can be empowered by diversity-based initiatives, such as ethnic-immigrant women as seen in the WRIEN initiative and the City of Kitchener's diversity strategy. At the same time, GM advocates might question whether cross-ranging women-based issues such as child care provisions, equal representation on decision-making bodies, achieving a work-life balance, and in essence, re-constructing traditional gender roles, will actually receive attention by local policy communities if they are subsumed under the catch-all category of diversity; or whether the policy practice of "writing women out" and "folding gender in[to]" (Jenson 2008) diversity strategies has the potential to realize the goals of diverse women's empowerment and gender equality.

Several factors point to the poor reception of women-based concerns and gender issues in contrast to diversity among Waterloo Region's economic development policy community. Interviewee 21 stated that "gender issues have been discussed long ago in local government... not very successfully;" while research participant 30 stated that a

women-only initiative would not be supported by the private sector and economic development policy community partners, suggesting a negative “inherited policy legacy” associated with women-based initiatives (Boismenu and Graefe 2004:72). Interviewee 7 stated that asking for one’s gender on surveys of the private sector was not well received by business chief executive officers. Only five members of the interview sample used a gender lens (norm entrepreneurs working to re-construct traditional gender roles within their professional capacities), while the remaining twenty interviewees either held an equal opportunists gender frame or a diversity equality frame. Many of the interviewees felt that it would be unfair to discuss gender as one category of the population without considering age, ethnicity, and geography in policy-making (interviewees 7, 11, 12, 15, 18, 21, 23). Not all of these interviewees, however, advocated a diversity equality frame – only that if gender was considered in policy-making or in the composition of committees, so should these other factors. Therefore, a diversity framework in practice does not necessarily breakdown the dichotic categories of women and men into racialized and socio-economic groups according to an intersectionality theory and methodology. This suggests that gender sensitivity training is still a vital component to consider women-based issues and unequal gender relations within diversity frameworks. The question is, how to advocate for gender sensitivity training when there is an inherited policy legacy that discredits women-based concerns and gender issues?

In contrast to discussing gender issues, the diversity training initiatives undertaken by the three cities had a broader base of legitimacy and support among the policy community than gender-based issues on their own. Diversity initiatives overcame the inherited policy legacy (of avoidance at best, hostility at worst) towards women-specific

policies by targeting an ethnic-culturally diverse community and the disabled population more so than women or the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual community. Social inclusion and diversity initiatives were viewed as legitimate in response to increasing immigration according to both a human rights framework provided by provincial legislation, and as an economic rationale according to a business model of cities as service providers. Thus, diversity initiatives were supported by the senior public administration and city councils, and in two out of three cities, had the accompanying resources to implement diversity sensitivity training throughout the organization's management. Still, the women in charge of organizing and delivering the diversity sensitivity training in Kitchener were warned by city council not to spend a single dime on hiring a full time staff person to implement the diversity strategy within the bureaucracy. Perhaps then, women in the bureaucracy (albeit outside of economic development) have used diversity to frame gender issues to resonate with the mainstream policy discourse, although this was not explicitly stated during any of the interviews.

More recent documents produced by the City of Kitchener suggest improving immigrant women's work experience and networking opportunities by partnering with Focus on Ethnic Women – a relationship reinforced through the WRIEN partnership. It would seem easiest and most efficient for GM advocates then to suggest that cities provide more resources and attention to gender issues and gender sensitivity training within the city-wide diversity strategies than they currently are. In Kitchener, this could mean including a gender component to the healthy community lens that the city has already committed to using.

Incorporating gender into the cities' diversity strategies, however, has its limitations. First, this approach excludes the peripheral non-government organizations and public-private partnerships that are involved in economic development policy-making – sometimes even leading the economic development agenda – but are not part of the city governments. Second, much like the federal government's incomplete adoption of GM whereby, certain departments have made more progress than others (see chapter one), the diversity strategies and analysis may be implemented with greater success in the people-based departments such as human resources and community services, and less in the technical departments such as economic development, engineering and urban planning. Third, there is the risk of "policy evaporation" (Moser 2005), in that after an official policy adoption and commitment has been made, gender will not be fully considered within the broader context of diversity given that 68 percent of the interview sample thought that gender was either irrelevant or a passé issue in light of diversity issues.

Community-based partnerships, however, can strategically frame gender to resonate with the mainstream concern for diversity and representativeness among municipalities. Whereas previous studies on the adoption and implementation of GM in other contexts suggest that more gender-disaggregated data and case studies of GM's effectiveness are necessary (Moser and Moser 2005), this thesis argues that strategically framing women's empowerment to coincide with the goals of the entrepreneurial cities strategies was effective in the case of WRIEN. The WRIEN initiative has set precedence for including social agencies and considering social-economic issues in economic development for the betterment of the community-at-large that the policy community can build on. In

particular, the WRIEN initiative included more women in the economic development policy-making process and put immigrant women onto the economic development agenda. The policy implication is that partnerships between public, private and not-for-profit sectors should be encouraged to include quantitative and qualitative data on diverse women's experiences as they relate to labour market inclusion; and thus, empowerment outcomes. This necessitates federal and provincial support and leadership of the not-for-profit sector to present a viable economic partner to the profit-maximizing private sector and the cash-strapped public sector. Moreover, multi-sector and multi-scalar partnerships overcome the insufficiency of conducting GM in municipal bureaucracies alone when much of the economic development agenda setting is done in the private and public-private sector. Therefore, strategically framing women-based concerns within entrepreneurial cities strategies can provide a mutually reinforcing rationale for municipalities to emphasize the gender component in their diversity strategies.

Consequently, just as the new city-regionalism theory thrusts city-regions to the forefront of global economies, the federal and provincial scales – or those who “hold the money strings” (interviewees 10, 12, and 21) – can play an ongoing, supportive role in fostering community-based solutions to the challenges of the new economic order. Is redirecting government funding to community-based partnerships essentially the same as offloading governmental responsibilities to activists and private sector actors? I argue that it is not because the public-private partnerships featured in this thesis created new agenda items rather than receiving issues from municipalities to implement. In contrast to NPM critiques, multi-sector, multi-scalar community-based partnerships such as WRIEN reflect Bradford’s (2003) description of a learning community. According to Bradford,

learning communities “provide the right institutional base and cultural context for upgrading the economy and for improving quality of life and living standards;” they “find ways to mobilize the collective wisdom of their local resources: businesses; educational and research facilities; trade unions; social movements; policy experts; government officials; and engaged citizens” (2003:3).

4. Conclusions

This thesis provides contextual data on the different roles played by women and men in Waterloo Region’s economic development policy community; the way power and gender relations influence the adoption and adaptation of a new entrepreneurial cities policy frame to supplement and (eventually) supplant traditional economic development strategies; and the implications of both policy frames for considering women-based concerns and gender issues in local economic development policy-making. It argues that if the policy community were to adopt GM, women’s diverse experiences in socio-economic policy planning as well as their barriers to labour market participation could be uncovered and economic development policies could be devised to improve women’s labour market outcomes, and thus their resources for empowerment. At a minimum, the research allowed the policy community members to consider women’s roles in the local economy, policy-making and the gender hierarchies in the policy community.

Although macro-level paradigm shifts and discourses such as the new economic order influenced the circumstances under which economic development discourses and strategies were constructed, this research finds that the local political culture and economic-environmental constraints also factored into the policy community’s uneven adoption of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame. The discourses and strategies were

locally adopted and adapted by those in the private sector who had the power to set the economic development agenda and those discourses influenced whether there was space in policy discussions for women or gender issues to be recognized and addressed depending on the degree to which they merged social with economic issues. This thesis finds that social and economic issues are more likely to be considered together in local adaptations of Florida's creative cities theory compared to traditional economic development strategies and by public-private partnerships external to municipal bureaucracies.

Moreover, the active agents of change (those who identified crises and determined action strategies, thereby setting the economic development agenda) were predominantly male, while women were heavily concentrated in implementation positions that are entrenched in bureaucratic neutrality. Despite agreeing on the low representation of women in decision-making roles in the policy community, the existence of an old boy's network in the policy community, and the difficulties of balancing work-life conflicts, the women in the municipal bureaucracies of the policy community were not more likely to bring gender issues to policy discussions, nor to think that gender was relevant to economic development as a result of their adherence to a liberal feminist view of equality of opportunity, a traditional economic development policy frame, and their membership in an organizational culture of neutrality and meritocracy.

In contrast to gender issues, diversity issues became a prominent concern in Waterloo Region between 2000 and 2006. Supported and legitimized by other scales of government, diversity initiatives were closely linked to provincial human rights legislation within municipalities and the shortage of skilled workers and increase in

immigration in the economic development policy community. The Centre for Community-based Research capitalized on the mainstream concern for diversity and a similar project in the City of Toronto to launch WRIEN. WRIEN was successful because the issue of immigrant employment resonated with the goals of the entrepreneurial cities policy frame to provide a tolerant and diverse community that is attractive to the creative class. Moreover, the employment of immigrant women emerged as a woman based concern within the WRIEN initiative and the City of Kitchener's diversity strategy has the potential to empower immigrant women by increasing their opportunities to acquire economic resources.

Therefore, local economic development is not a gender neutral policy field either in its policy frames, discourses, strategies, composition, nor its implementation. The treatment of gender and diversity issues in cities cannot be lumped together despite the tendency to include gender in diversity strategies. Diversity concerns are clearly more visible and valued in the municipal governments than gender issues. The treatment of gender and diversity in economic development specifically depended on how the local political and socio-economic culture of the influential actors defined economic issues and chose among a set of available policy frames within the constraints imposed by higher scales of government. The social inclusion and diversity strategies adopted by cities as responsive service providers and in accordance with provincial regulations suggest the most likely avenue for gender issues to resonate with the goals of improving the local quality of life and competitiveness in municipal governments. For now, however, the local adaptation of Florida's creative class theory and the provincial human rights legislation has led to a region-wide endorsement of diversity issues with gender

subsumed as a less important category as a result of the inherited policy legacies. Still, one category of women – immigrant women – became a policy concern in both the economic development policy community and at least one municipal government. It would be interesting to see if the policy frames and gender equality frames of the City of Waterloo representatives and the affects of more women in decision-making roles differed after the newly elected female mayor and female-dominated council took office.

In conclusion, the practical world of local economic development policy-making has the opposite problem of reconciling the gender and diversity debate found in feminist theory. Whereas intersectionality theorists argue that gender needs to be broken down and considered in light of and perhaps secondary to other identities; local economic development policy-makers need to investigate the role that gender plays across diverse groups in affecting economic outcomes. The central argument of this thesis is that economic development policies can be used to enhance gender equality by creating opportunities for women's empowerment through a gender-based analysis of the local labour market and spatial planning. In contrast, gender-blind or "neutral" economic development policies may exacerbate inequalities amongst men and women and women of diverse backgrounds.

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Appendix A

The Legal Context for Gender Equality and Gender Mainstreaming

Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms

Gender equality is assured in Canada through Sections 15(1) and 28 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Section 15 Equality Rights: (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. (2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

Section 28 Rights Guaranteed Equally to Both Sexes

Notwithstanding anything in this Charter, the rights and freedoms referred to in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.

See the Charter at <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter>

Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

This United Nations Convention, to which Canada is a signatory, addresses women's equality worldwide as an international bill of human rights. Canada ratified the Convention in 1981 and as such is bound to take action to guarantee those rights. The Convention requires all signatories to take "all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men" (article 3)

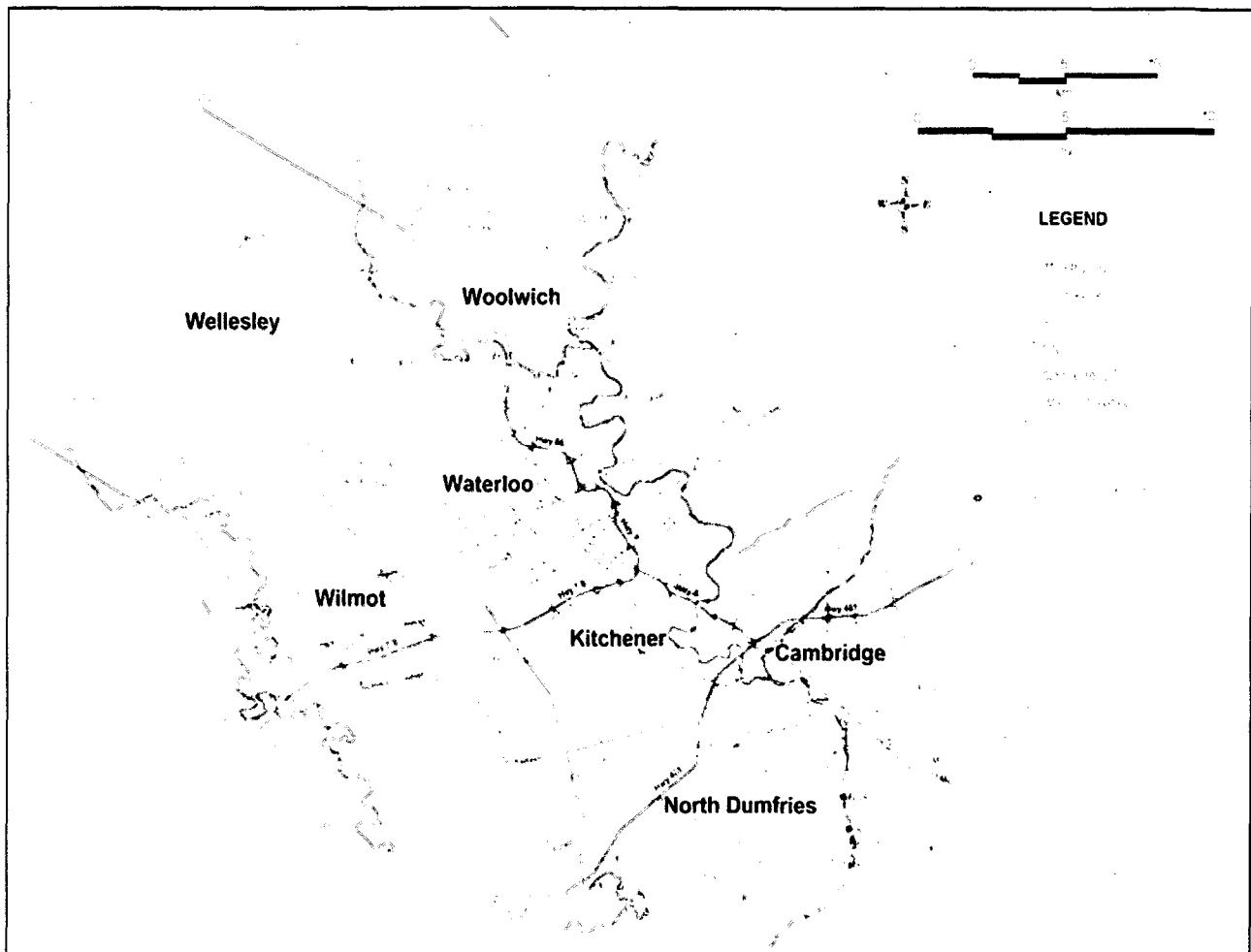
See the Convention at www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/econvention.htm

Beijing Platform for Action

In 1995, Canada adopted the *United Nations Platform for Action*, the concluding document of the United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing . The Platform states that "equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people-centred sustainable development. A sustained and long-term commitment is essential, so that women and men can work together for themselves, for their children and for society to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. "

See the Platform at www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/index.html

Appendix B
Map of Waterloo Regional Municipality



Source: [http://www.kitchener.ca/pdf/profile\(1\).pdf](http://www.kitchener.ca/pdf/profile(1).pdf)

The Kitchener Census Metropolitan Area includes the City of Kitchener, the City of Waterloo, the City of Cambridge, North Dumfries Township and Woolwich Township

Appendix C
Comparisons of Selected Criteria for Southwestern Ontario
Census Metropolitan Areas for Case Selection

		Hamilton CMA	Kitchener CMA	London CMA
Population		692,911	451,235	457,720
Percent change in population 2001 - 2006		4.6%	8.9%	5.1%
Immigrants as a percent of Total Population		24%	23%	19%
Labour force participation rate		66.1%	71.5%	67.5%
Employment rate		62.1%	67.5%	63.4%
Unemployment rate		6.0%	5.6%	6.1%
Median income 2005, all census families		\$71,989	\$73,586	\$68,830
Median earnings 2005, persons 15 years and older who worked full time, full year employment		\$46,146	\$44,274	\$42,746
Top Traded Industry Clusters ⁶⁹	1	Metal Manufacturing	Automotive	Financial Services
	2	Education and Knowledge Creation	Education and Knowledge Creation	Automotive
	3	Business Services	Business Services	Education and Knowledge Creation
	4	Financial Services	Metal Manufacturing	Transportation and Logistics
	5	Processed Food	Processed Food	Business Services

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of the Population 2006, Community Profiles

⁶⁹ Source: The Institute for Competitiveness & Prosperity, *Ontario's Clusters of Innovation*, Working Paper No. 1. April 2002. http://www.competeandprosper.ca/index.php/work/working_papers/

Appendix D

The Interview Instrument

The Involvement of Gender, Gender-Based Analysis, Multi-Sector Actors and Multi-levels of Government in Local Economic Development Policy Planning and Implementation

Research Goal: To assess the utility and feasibility of conducting Gender-based Analysis (GBA)⁷⁰ in local economic development policy-making.

Interview Objectives:

1. To understand the local economic development policy-making process and the extent of gender analysis conducted within the policy process.
2. To identify members of the local economic development policy community and to ascertain their role in the policy-making process.

Interview Questions:

1. How would you describe your level of input into local economic development policy-making?
2. What have been the main issues that you've supported in local economic development policy over the last decade?
3. How would you describe the relationships between your office and other local actors, such as the chief administrative officers and economic development departments of the other cities of Canada's Technology Triangle, the Region of Waterloo, the private sector, and economic development non-profit organizations (i.e. CTT, Communitech, Chambers of Commerce)?
4. Who would you identify as key actors (public and private) who are consistently involved in local economic development planning, decision-making and setting the

⁷⁰ "GBA is based on the standpoint that policy cannot be separated from the social context, and that social issues are an integral part of economic issues. Gender-based analysis identifies how public policies differentially affect women and men. This includes an understanding of the nature of relationships between men and women, and the different social realities, life expectations and economic circumstances facing women and men. It also acknowledges that some women may be disadvantaged even further because of their race, colour, sexual orientation, socio-economic position, region, ability level or age... GBA respects and appreciates diversity. ... GBA is supported by tools, such as gender-disaggregated data, gender-sensitive equality indicators, and guidelines and criteria, for assessing when gender is likely to be an issue in the development of policies." (Status of Women Canada, *Setting the Stage for the Next Century: The Federal Plan for Gender Equality*, 1998. <http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca>)

economic development agenda? Please include both the names and titles or positions of people you think have directed the local economic development agenda.

5. How is each person or position you identified involved in the economic development plans of the municipalities and the region? (E.g. philanthropy, sitting on Boards of Directors, expectations of their occupation, personal charisma or other characteristics, etc.)
6. To what extent would you say women are involved in setting the economic development agenda or providing input or feedback to economic development policy? Please consider the political process (e.g. female politicians, local citizenry), multi-actor partnerships (e.g. women from the private sector, female academics, women from NGOs) and public administration (e.g. female economic development officers, female chief administrative officers, etc.) separately.
7. To what extent would you say local labour groups, social planning groups or other social movement organizations are involved in setting the economic development agenda or providing input or feedback to economic development policy? Again, please include the gender concentrations of these actors in your response (i.e. predominantly male, predominantly female, approximately equal representation of males and females).
8. Who are you surprised not to see involved or represented in the local economic development policy process?
9. How does your office engage with the local citizenry in economic development policy planning or implementation?
10. How have gender considerations been raised, addressed or analyzed in your organization as they relate to economic development policy initiatives?
11. Has your organization collected or used existing gender-disaggregated statistics to inform policy analysis or policy proposals?
12. Who conducted the gender analysis?
13. How was it funded? How was it resourced?
14. Has your office used existing Gender-based Analysis (GBA) studies in policy planning? If so, which studies were utilized?
15. What is the general response or reaction to any gender concerns that have been raised within or outside of your organization as they relate to economic development projects? (E.g. Reactions from memberships, local governments, private sector organizations, NGOs, the community?)

16. What sorts of actions have been taken in response to gender concerns and gender studies?
17. How would you describe the relationship between your office and the regional, provincial and federal levels of government? Are there any particular departments in the other levels of government that your office works closely with?
18. What sort of power or control do other levels of government exert on your office?
19. Has the federal government ever required GBA for federal funding of initiatives?

THANK YOU. YOUR TIME, PARTICIPATION AND CONTRIBUTION TO THIS RESEARCH PROJECT IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

Appendix E
Characteristics of the Data Sample

Interviewees⁷¹

Interview ID #	Occupational Level	Organization Type	Gender	Gender Lens	Gender Equality Frame
1	Senior Executive	Public-Private Partnership	Male	Gender lens	Norm Entrepreneur
2	Mid-level staff	Non-government Organization	Female	Unaware	Equal Opportunist
3	Senior Executive	Public-Private Partnership	Female	Increasing Awareness	Equal Opportunist
4	Senior Executive	Non-government Organization	Male	Equal opportunist	Equal Opportunist
5	Senior Executive	Public-Private Partnership	Female	Gender lens	Norm Entrepreneur
6	Senior Executive	Public-Private Partnership	Male	Irrelevant to LED	Equal Opportunist
7	Mid-level staff	Public-Private Partnership	Male	Gender lens	Norm Entrepreneur
8	Senior Executive	Public-Private Partnership	Female	Gender lens	Norm Entrepreneur
9	Volunteer	Public-Private Partnership	Female	Neutral	Equal Opportunist
10	Senior politician	Municipal Government	Male	Irrelevant to LED	Equal Opportunist
11	Senior politician	Municipal Government	Male	Equal opportunist	Diversity
12	Senior politician	Municipal Government	Male	Equal opportunist	Equal Opportunist
13	Senior politician	Regional Government	Male	Neutral	Equal Opportunist
14	Senior public administrator	Municipal Government	Female	Equal opportunist	Equal Opportunist
15	Mid-level public administrator	Municipal Government	Female	Irrelevant to LED	Equal Opportunist
16	Mid-level public administrator	Municipal Government	Female	Increasing Awareness	Equal Opportunist
17	Mid-level	Municipal	Female	Irrelevant to	Equal Opportunist

⁷¹ "Interviewees" completed the interview instrument in Appendix D. "Research participants" refers to members of local governments or NGOs who are not necessarily involved in local economic development policy-making but who provided information on particular initiatives in Waterloo Region.

	public administrator	Government		LED	
18	Senior public administrator	Municipal Government	Male	Diversity lens	Diversity
19	Mid-level public administrator	Municipal Government	Female	Gender lens	Norm Entrepreneur
20	Mid-level public administrator	Municipal Government	Female	Irrelevant to LED	Equal Opportunist
21	Senior public administrator	Municipal Government	Male	Diversity lens	Diversity
22	Senior public administrator	Municipal Government	Female	Equal opportunist	Diversity
23	Senior public administrator	Municipal Government	Male	Diversity lens	Diversity
24	Senior public administrator	Regional Government	Male	Neutral	Equal Opportunist
25	Senior public administrator	Municipal Government	Male	Neutral	Equal Opportunist

Research Participants

Interview ID #	Occupational Level	Organization Type	Gender	Gender Lens	Gender Equality Frame
26	Mid-level public administrator	Municipal government	Female	Neutral	Not enough information to determine
27	Senior public administrator	Municipal government	Female	Diversity	Not enough information to determine between diversity and norm entrepreneurs
28	Senior public administrator	Municipal government	Male	Diversity	
29	Senior public administrator	Municipal government	Male	Diversity	
30	Senior executive	Non-government Organization	Male	Diversity	
31	Senior public administrator	Municipal government	Female	Diversity	
Paul Born	Senior executive	Tamarack	Male	Norm entrepreneur	Norm entrepreneur

Appendix F

Interviewees' Use of Keywords

Policy Frame	Keywords	Waterloo					Cambridge				
		10	20	23	25	Totals	12	14	15	21	Totals
Traditional	Marketing	1	6	1		8	1		8	8	17
	Industrial land						1	3		2	6
	Manufacturing		1			1	2	3		1	6
	Attraction		7	2		9			2		2
	Retention		1	2		3			4		4
	Traditional						2				2
	Skilled labour								2		2
	Infrastructure						1	1			2
	Greenfields							1			1
	Blue collar							1			1
TOTAL:						21					43

Sustainability	Environmental issues	1		1		2		1			1
	Sustainable, balance						6				6
	Growth management										
	Brownfields										
	TOTAL:					2					7

Policy Frame	Keywords	Waterloo					Cambridge				
		10	20	23	25	Totals	12	14	15	21	Totals
Entrepreneurial Cities	High technology			1		1		5		2	7
	Knowledge economy										
	Shift from manufacturing						3			3	
	Service industry						1			1	
	Competitiveness										
	Globalization										
	Global economy										
	Clusters								1	1	
	Entrepreneurs						1			1	
	Local partnerships						1			1	
	Job creation						1			1	
	Core area	2	2			4	4	1		6	11
	Post-secondary institutions	1	1	2	2	6	3	1	1	1	6
	Community		1	5		6	4	1	1		6
	Arts, or arts and culture									1	1
	Live, work, play, or lifestyle			1		1					
	Redevelopment, Revitalization	1				1	1			3	4
	Culture		2			2	2				2
	Immigrants								2	2	
	Talent										
	Sense of place		1			1	1				1
	Physician recruitment		1			1			2	1	3
	Intensification										
	Workforce development										
	Knowledge workers										
	Quality of life			1		1			1	1	
	TOTAL:					24					52

Appendix G

Excerpt from City of Waterloo's "Final Report: Building New Bridges, the City of Waterloo's 10-Year Economic Development Strategy 2008-2017" December 2008:p.8

1. Strategic Direction #1: Shared Vision

For the first time, the City must actively and openly engage in an economic development visioning process to direct and declare a specific sense of where the community hopes and wants to be in the future. Past economic development has been *ad hoc* and has happened based on scattered and separate visions; the realization of the community's full potential requires a kind of "North Star" that will serve to guide and illuminate the community's economic development aspirations.

2. Strategic Direction #2: Social Inclusion

To reach the community's full potential, the City must work to mobilize all of the community's resources and to maximize the contributions of all its residents. This cannot be accomplished where there is inequality of opportunity, or where exclusion, underemployment and socioeconomic gaps create barriers to development. The City must prioritize actions that bring the full force of the community's capacity to the challenges and opportunities of the future.

3. Strategic Direction #3: Community Cohesion

The rise of knowledge-based industries and a new creative class of workers has altered the calculus of economic development by accentuating the importance of quality of life and depth of culture to local economies. To attract – or even retain – the vital workforce that will drive future economic development opportunities, Waterloo must focus on the creation of vibrant, creative and engaging community amenities.

4. Strategic Direction #4: Economic Retention

Entrepreneurial vision and strong individual business accomplishment have been drivers of past performance in the Waterloo economy, and many small start-ups have grown to become international giants in their respective fields. The City must work diligently to preserve and enhance the connections of these companies to the community, and to ensure that these firms remain committed to maintaining operations within the community.

5. Strategic Direction #5: Business Expansion

While investment attraction – bringing businesses from outside the community into the community – is an exciting and glamorous concept, the most significant driver of new business growth will always be the expansion of existing local firms, either by organic growth, or through the development of new ventures, products and services based on

entrepreneurial vision. The City must prioritize its efforts to understand where this expansion is likely to occur and work with business to ensure that those expansions take place within the City of Waterloo whenever possible.

Full document available online: http://www.city.waterloo.on.ca/Portals/57ad7180-c5e7-49f5-b282-c6475cdb7ee7/CS_EDM_documents/EcoDev_Strat.pdf