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An Examination
of Women's Employment Trends in Two Industries within
Toronto's Manufacturing Sector: Footwear and Small Appliances

submitted by Sarah Payne, B.A. (Hons.)
in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Master of Arts

Date: August 28th/1994

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"An Examination
of Women's Employment Trends in Two Industries within
Toronto's Manufacturing Sector: Footwear and Small Appliances"
submitted by Sarah Payne, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

pp. Iain Wallace
Thesis Supervisor
Chair, Department of Geography

Carleton University
Sept 16th/1994

Abstract

The manufacturing sector in Metropolitan Toronto is undergoing a process of economic restructuring. In response to the changes, many have sought to evaluate the impacts of this transforming sector on Canada's labour markets. This paper explores two particular labour intensive manufacturing industries which have historically been too small to be either collectively represented or officially recorded. It also differs from conventional deindustrialization studies both in its focus and objective. The focus is on the relationship between gender and the structural consequences of current economic trends. Its objective therefore, is to investigate comparatively the labour force changes that have occurred within the female dominated labour force in the Women's Leather footwear industry and the male dominated labour force in the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry in Metropolitan Toronto from 1987 to 1992. The following findings are identified in the research. First, while both of these manufacturing industries have undergone continual processes of economic reform over the past five years, the majority of labour cutbacks within both industries have occurred where females were employed. Second, the female employees of both industries predominantly occupied the low-paid and low-skilled positions. Finally, the factors influencing the particular employment trends of these two industries are: relocation of industry, plant closures, and the introduction of flexible production strategies.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Importance of Study:

It was generally conceded even by promoters of freer trade, that considerable restructuring inside manufacturing industries would occur as a result of freer trade agreements, specifically within North America. The most optimistic proponents (see Harris and Cox, 1983), did not anticipate radical shifts between industries. According to Marjorie Cohen (1987), this meant no industries would experience serious declines, but would gradually reorganize production to find their 'niche' in international markets.

In 1987, Marjorie Cohen disputed this (Harris and Cox, 1983) view and predicted that in some industries which are major employers of women, there will be serious production and job losses. Cohen further predicted that even within those industries which do manage to find a proper 'niche' in international trade, the focus will be on shifting production

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MAP ONE

THE LOCATIONS OF EACH PLANT ENGAGED IN WOMEN'S LEATHER
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1992.....viii

Metropolitan Toronto

LAKE ONTARIO

LEGEND

- WOMENS LEATHER FOOTWEAR PLANT LOCATIONS
- △ ELECTRONIC HOUSEWARES AND FANS PLANT LOCATIONS

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

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away from those areas within the industry where women work. The result would then be a significant decline in women's jobs in the manufacturing sector.

In this study I examine two similar goods producing industries within Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector. One of these industries contains a female dominated labour force, while the other contains a male dominated labour force. In the Women's Leather Footwear industry, over 60 per cent of the employees are female, and over 62 per cent in the manufacturing of Electronic Housewares and Fans are male (1).

1.2 Project Goals:

The project goals for this study are twofold. The first aim is to examine two manufacturing industries in the Metropolitan Toronto area, one male dominated and the other female dominated, in an attempt to show whether serious declines in production and job losses have occurred between 1987 and 1992.

The second goal of this study is to examine whether shifting production away from those areas within these industrial plants where women are concentrated has occurred in either the female dominated industry or in the male dominated industry or both. This research question will explore Marjorie Cohen's 1987 predictions in two specific industries inside Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector.

1.3 Methods Summary

The main focus of this paper is local. A project of this nature, however, is grounded upon a comprehensive understanding of the global connections between two specific local manufacturing industries and the dynamics of an international world economy. To make sense of the experiences from these two local industries, the ability to demonstrate how 'economic restructuring' as a function of globalisation is having impacts on a smaller economic community such as Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector requires that we place it in a larger context of what has come to be called 'global restructuring'. The focus of this study was on small manufacturing plants. These businesses were, for the most part, too small to be either collectively represented or officially recorded. While Statistics Canada records all small business start-ups and closures, information on these individual small businesses is not available nor are employment changes of fifty persons or less per month legally required to be officially recorded. The employment changes of most of the businesses in my study are not in any official records and the data series used by Statistics Canada is inadequate since its start-up and closure records of these small businesses include the province location only. The challenge of finding these small manufacturing plants made this research study particularly appealing in spite of the difficulty connected with the gathering of information. In the

end, I relied on Statistics Canada SIC codes and Scott's Directory in conjunction with Dunn and Bradstreet's Directory (see chapter four) to develop a survey size of sixty-one potential companies. From these sixty-one, twenty-six were involved in the Electric Housewares and Fans industry and thirty-five were involved in the Women's Leather Footwear (except athletics) industry. Through a process of initial telephone conversations and field trips to these sixty-one firms, the number of plants decreased to only thirty-nine potential respondents. This decrease was solely the result of plant closures and mergers that had occurred in both of these industries between 1987 and 1992 (five plant closures within the Electric Housewares and Fans industry and seventeen closures and mergers in the Women's Leather Footwear industry). I gathered my empirical information by developing a conceptual framework for my questionnaire and then conducting face-to-face interviews with each plant's General Manager. The total number of respondents interviewed was thirty-two; fourteen in the Women's Footwear industry and eighteen in the Electric Housewares and fans industry. There were only seven refusals. These interviews were first audio-recorded and then transcribed for the purpose of analysis. The findings of this study have been examined both quantitatively and qualitatively. In both cases the attitudes and opinions of the employers and their perceptions of the factors influencing their particular business were revealed. The conclusions

demonstrate that within both of these two particular manufacturing industries, it has been the female employees which have experienced the greatest number of layoffs. This statement was found true for both the Electronic Housewares and Women's Leather Footwear. The specific details of both the approach and the findings in percentage form are contained within the paper.

1.4 The Organization of the Research Paper

In response to a transforming world economy, many have felt the necessity to evaluate the impacts of these changes on Canada's labour markets. My own study is centred around this topic. I am attempting to focus on how these changes are affecting male and female labour markets differently within Toronto's manufacturing sector. The arrangement of this paper is intended to contribute eventually to a broader and more progressive understanding of the complexity surrounding this discussion.

Chapter two provides the background and key definitions that are relevant to the dialogue. The literature review in this section examines the many factors involved in 'economic restructuring' and its global connections in order to uncover the motivation for employment changes and the new global spatial divisions of labour between Third world access and First world markets. This is followed by discussion concerning Metropolitan Toronto as my chosen area of study. Specific

dialogue is provided by Maurice Yeates in his classical overview of the changing role of Canada's heartland since 1921. Yeates is further supported by a contribution from Glen Norcliffe involving de-industrialization in Toronto, as well as a summation of the actual reported layoffs in Ontario's manufacturing sector between 1987 and 1992 provided by the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

The succeeding chapter illustrates my theoretical framework by providing several postulated interpretations for the processes discussed in chapter two. It is here that the importance of gender in the labour market becomes explicit.

Chapter four outlines my methodological technique which examines the Canadian electronics and footwear industry in detail, provides the questionnaire format and my findings in quantitative terms. The latter portion of this chapter includes a section which focuses on the qualitative responses in my survey. Question seven was asked with the intention of soliciting perceptions and opinions from the respondents at their level of expertise and experience. The deliberation highlights commonalities and differences in people's responses based on industry, size, multinational status and area of specialization within their chosen industry.

The final chapter investigates how the results as general trends relate to my original hypothesis, and speculate about how future labour market studies might be approached.

Chapter Two

BACKGROUND

Chapter two provides a background review of the relevant literature. The review defines and examines the concept of 'economic restructuring' by illustrating how specific economic restructuring processes have impacted on both the local society and the global community, simultaneously. This chapter also explains the appropriateness of Metropolitan Toronto as a chosen area of study. Toronto is shown to be an appropriate urban centre to study because the decline in its manufacturing sector is well documented. The decline is linked to the emergence of Toronto as a financial capital with a new international community.

2.1 The Global Connections:

The focus of this research question is limited in its geographic scope to the manufacturing sector of Metropolitan

Toronto. In order, however, to comprehend fully the nature of this study, it becomes important to place it in its larger context of what Seccombe refers to as "global restructuring--a set of far-reaching changes in the world economy" (1). The purpose of this exercise is simply to outline, in brief, what these global changes entail and to demonstrate how they affect a smaller scale community such as Metropolitan Toronto.

Firstly, any attempt to place Metropolitan Toronto into this global context is developed from an acknowledgement that the dynamics of the entire world economy shape and limit the behaviour of its parts. Today, independent or isolated economies at the national, regional or local level are a rare phenomenon. For this reason all but the most remote communities are integrated into the global economy. Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector is no exception. Ontario is Canada's leading manufacturing province (2). Within Ontario, it is Metropolitan Toronto, including its smaller outer cities, that represent the majority of Canada's manufacturing labour force engaged in the manufacturing of Electronic Housewares and Women's Leather Footwear.

2.2 Global Restructuring:

In order to understand the concept of globalisation, and attempt to explain how these changes have affected Canada and, even more locally, Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector, it is imperative that we discern the underlying

purpose of this new political economy. A widely accepted theory of globalisation amongst politicians and economists visualises the erosion of national sovereignty at the centres of capitalism, presumably to be replaced by an 'internationalizing' of capital that will make and enforce the rules of international relations (3).

The world economy, the theory continues, is constantly in a stage of flux. This has been demonstrated historically, and continues today as a series of technological revolutions, industrial reorganizations, modes of production transformations, labour force recomposition, realignments of trade partners and policies, redevelopments in communication networks and transportation modes and routes.

Technological revolutions encompass every aspect of a person's life from flicking on a light switch to turning on an automated assembly line. Industrial changes create new consumer products as well as close down single industry towns. Modes of production transformations have enabled labour to become highly skilled by performing multiple tasks while rendering other jobs obsolete. As transportation modes have improved over the centuries so, too, have the abilities to develop and redevelop communication networks and trading partners. These highly interactive changes constantly affect each other in a variety of ways. In this paper, the discussion of the effects of these complex processes are limited to: labour force recomposition, international trade agreements and

new spatial divisions of labour. In the midst of all this change, however, one characteristic remains constant --the function of the market as a key motivator of change.

Secombe (1991), in the following passage, highlights the role of the market place quest for higher profit margins through his description of the major trends which illustrate global restructuring in the twentieth century:

- *the growth of transnational corporations, thrusting outward through investment and trade in a relentless quest for raw materials, cheap labour, and entry into new markets;
- *These corporations are both rivals and allies, competing globally for market share, while forging agreements and joint ventures to develop new technologies and to dominate world commerce;
- *through this expansionary drive to create new markets, extend the international division of labour, and spread new technologies, the web of global interdependence is tightened, eroding the economic self-sufficiency and political autonomy of regions. (p.2)

These global dynamics are not new per se; rather, they are extensions of centuries of economic development. As Secombe's passage indicates, the continued drive towards competitive integration in our world economy creates global trends that impact the smallest of communities. The different ways in which various communities are affected is an important part of this study. For instance, economic global interdependence is thriving as transnational footwear corporations such as Bata reflect these connections which are developing a global community. Simultaneously, however, regional disparities are magnified as self-sufficient, local, small footwear businesses and their market share deteriorate. As the deeper reality of

any market driven change attempts to maximize accumulation by government policies through international corporations, it also accentuate structural inequalities. At a national level, Marjorie Cohen's paper, Exports, Unemployment, and Regional Inequality: Economic Policy and Trade Theory (1984), illustrates the impacts of export-led growth strategies on existing regional structural inequalities within Canada. The impacts of globalisation supersede regional and/or national boundaries by restructuring a new internationalization of labour and trading patterns and thus accentuates differences and inequalities existing inside an entire global economy. One such structural inequality that is now being grappled with is highlighted within Daniel Drache and Meric Gertler's, The New Era of Global Competition: State Policy and Market Power (1991).

This anthology reviews how the United States, as the last hegemonic power regulated major reforms well beyond Keynesian social income programs in order to attain U.S. growth and long term stability between World War II and the 1970s. A fundamental component during this era known as the Fordist regime, was collective bargaining. The collective bargaining processes which were once perceived by employers to play an advantageous role are now seen by these same employers as impediments to trade competitiveness when attempting to compete within the global market. This occurred because labour costs were profoundly affected by the role that collective

bargaining played as a wage-setting mechanism.

Gertler and Drache theorized that the modern collective bargaining regime has meant, as a general rule, the market no longer primarily determined principal wages in North America and Western Europe. Instead, wages were loosely linked to productivity growth. Initially, this gave Western industrial economies the possibility of achieving both rapid economic growth and social stability in the workplace, "with far-reaching consequences for both consumers and for the industrial working class whose class identity and consumer interest would for the first time be inextricably linked" (4). The movement of collective bargaining in North America resulted in an upward pressure on Canadian wages. This was considered a turning point in changing the material well-being of the industrial working class. Within a generation, industrial workers transformed consumption patterns and supported mass production industries with their mass consumption.

This revolution from competitive capitalism, unfettered largely by government intervention, to regulated capitalism, placed the state in a position to correct the market and set both the social and economic agenda for a country. Labour across North America, especially those engaged in manufacturing activities, experienced an increased standard of living as the growth of real wages and new social benefits and productivity rose until the mid-seventies when this model of

accumulation reached its peak. The hegemonic role of the United States and the Fordist regime associated with collective bargaining declined. In Canada, the role of collective bargaining resembled that of the United States. Consequently, unionized industries and social policy associated with "minimum wage" earnings have remained. What is relevant about this change in attitude towards collective bargaining is not how it has directly manifested itself in the two industries that I have studied. Rather, it is how, as the scale of the market has changed from national to global, there is a movement towards strategies which concentrate on a lowering of Canadian labour costs in order to compete with other international wages in the new global market. More specifically, how the implications of this movement, evident within my two particular industries, have defined themselves spatially within the new global economy and the impact that this has had on the labour force of these two industries in Metropolitan Toronto?

The causal connections that led to the end of this era of economic boom are convoluted. Magdoff clarifies these events in his paper, Globalization - To What End? (1992). He explains that the features of the present economic and political disorder have unfolded one after another in the past two decades: "a spiralling inflation gripped the world economy in the 1970s; a third-world debt crisis erupted in the 1980s; foreign exchange rates fluctuated wildly; international money

flow exploded to feed a growing mountain of debt and speculation" (5). The worldwide recession of 1973-75 was caused by the 'twin shock' of the collapse of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates, followed by the sudden quadrupling of world oil prices by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The effects of these occurrences can be seen through the benefit of hindsight, as the turning point that marked the end of the long post-World War boom. The essence of this discussion from a geographical perspective is that these events and their impacts were spatially differentiated. Global economic restructuring is a profoundly geographical process as the impacts of these events have not affected Canada in the same way that they have affected South Korea and so on. In order to face the challenge of the economic crisis which occurred within traditional industrialized countries such as Canada, the choice of integrating production operations across national boundaries was implemented. Underdeveloped countries provided a new worldwide industrial reserve labour market. This internationalization of industry was based on the new pattern of international comparative advantage. In other words, complementers now existed between factors of production in underdeveloped countries and developed countries. Unskilled assembly was performed in low wage areas with an abundance of untrained labour and the more highly skilled operations were being performed in the developed countries with an abundance

of skilled labour and technological resources. The result has been an increasing interpenetration of national economies.

Temporary slowdowns in the world's annual Gross Domestic Product are a common feature in market-based societies. Because capitalism or a market-based economy is a growth driven system, it thrives whenever the pace of capital accumulation is vigorous. Conversely, this system's weaknesses are exposed when its economy fails to expand for prolonged periods of time. This particular phase or slowdown in the Canadian economy has set the changing pace of annual growth rates from 4-5 percent during the postwar boom, to under the 3 percent at the current time. What is unusual about this current slowdown for countries such as Canada about this current slowdown is that the pace of technological innovation associated with the transfer of knowledge and production has accelerated as capital accumulation has declined. This has resulted, according to Secombe (1991), in a growth of world trade and market integration far exceeding a growth in the world economy. This important characteristic of current global restructuring means that despite rising unemployment within industrialized countries, investments in physical and human labour continue to expand elsewhere. The result is that a greater portion of the world's population is becoming more educated and thus more employable (6). So while investments in Canadian human and physical capital are increasing, the monetary returns on this investment are declining. As a

consequence, we see declining rates of profit and real wages, stagnant incomes, and increases in debt for governments, private firms and households (7). Secombe's analysis is focused on the Canadian economy. Obviously, these characteristics associated with global restructuring are not evident to the same degree everywhere, which is why global economic restructuring is profoundly a geographical process. Even within Canada's own economy, each sector has been affected by global restructuring slightly differently. Canada's financial sector has thrived since the expansion into new markets. Older more traditional sectors such as agriculture and labour intensive manufacturing have had mixed success. This happens because a surplus in productive capacity means that competition in certain markets intensifies in order to maintain, let alone expand, market shares. Drache and Gertler argue that since as early as the late 1960s, the system of regulated capitalism has been fundamentally challenged. An effect of this challenge constitutes one of the underlying problems this paper explores; the demise of full-employment capitalism and Canada's new role in economic endurance.

In the search for a new institutional order between state policy and market forces, Canada has been inundated over the past decade with the release of unfettered market forces known as market liberalism. But what are the implications of this refound faith in markets? Regulation theorists refer to this

new era as the "Post-Fordist crisis", and note the glaring wage differentials between First world economies and their new trade partners as a key illustration of one such consequence of this new attitude to markets. These glaring wage differences are only one issue to be grappled with, but are fundamental to my own case study. The implications of this new stage of globalisation appear to be determined by the unfolding of political and economic interaction between transnational corporations, organized labour, and the state. This paper explores the connections amongst these features from a limited and industry specific perspective; namely, how transnational corporations and international agreements have impacted the labour force of two Canadian manufacturing industries within Metropolitan Toronto.

2.3 Globalisation and GATT:

There is yet another factor to be considered, namely the current and future impacts of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Even though Canada joined GATT in 1947, the aim of the latest Uruguay round, the eighth, has been particularly focused on widening the scope of trade liberalisation, specifically by integrating agriculture and textiles into the GATT more fully and by introducing trade in services, intellectual property and investment measures into the GATT realm for the first time. Issues in these negotiations have been largely resolved making GATT's goals more of a reality.

Over the past year, new people have taken over many of the key GATT trade negotiating posts giving the negotiations a new impetus. Furthermore, there was willingness to concede to a limited agreement. The absence of impending national elections in the major negotiating countries has also supported the optimistic outcome. Politicians seem to be accepting that it is best to be represented in GATT negotiations as this **could** boost their country's economic growth and curb unemployment. Regardless of the theoretical justifications for deciding to support the actual GATT negotiations, the concept of global access to markets, zero-tariff measures, minimum quotas, and quality standards harmonization are functioning and influencing numerous sectors of the global economy today (8). This trend becomes more apparent through an examination of the changing global trade patterns and regulations occurring at the industry level. A prime example of these changing global trade regulations is found inside Canada's footwear industry. This industry uses shoe quotas to control its trade patterns. These have fluctuated dramatically over the past decade due to GATT negotiations.

2.4 Canadian Footwear Industry:

The importance of the use of quotas in the Canadian footwear industry could be argued to be an impediment to the growth of this industry. The manufacturing portion of this industry has been protected from a mass influx of footwear products outside

Canada at cheaper prices since the early 1960s. The glaring disparity amongst primarily the labour production costs between Canada and countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Romania, and China, were and still are so large that it was thought at the time Canada's footwear manufacturers, located mainly in Metropolitan Toronto, could not compete. In order to calm the fears of many Canadian manufacturers and their employees, it was determined that a certain percentage of footwear sold in Canada should be made from Canadian manufacturers. This decision that is still in place today, although to a lesser degree. It is considered a trade impediment by manufacturers outside of Canada since it fails to recognize that market forces cannot be ignored and that a failure to recognize this has contributed to a growing discrepancy between footwear employee wage earnings across the international economy. The specific role that GATT plays in the Canadian footwear industry specifically, is to remove the protectionist quotas in stages, to regulate against the dumping of cheaper footwear into Canada during the quota phase-out and to allow Canada's footwear manufacturers time to restructure their industry so that it may eventually compete in an unfettered global market. The process has been slow and its implications for the Canadian footwear labour force have been dramatic.

The pre-1980 Canadian Footwear industry had been a largely protected industry through the use of a quota system for

imports. In November 1981, the Leather Footwear quotas were removed. In July 1982, the quotas for Leather Footwear from all countries was put on again. During this one year of tariff removal no marked change in the industry's growth or decline occurred. However, in 1984 the international quota discussion for Leather Footwear arose again. This discussion saw the creation of a dividing line in the opinions of the Leather Footwear manufacturers and its retailers. The manufacturers cited high comparative labour costs as being the main reason for uncompetitiveness in the global market. As a result, June 1984 saw the continuance of the import quotas on Leather Footwear. Six months later, however, the Honourable James Kelleher, Minister of International Trade, announced the reduction of current Footwear import quotas from sixteen to twelve months bringing the expiry date to November, 1985. The rationale for this decision was to avoid excess administrative problems associated with quota extensions. The Minister assured Footwear manufacturers that an Anti-Dumping Tribunal Inquiry would assess the Canadian Footwear industry's need for continued protection, particularly from Taiwan, China and other parts of Asia.

The current import quota level in November, 1985, was fifty million pairs out of a potential national market of one hundred and forty million pairs. In reaction to the Anti-Dumping Tribunal warnings, Taiwan voluntarily imposed export controls on all footwear shipped to Canada. In November, 1987,

the Shoe Manufacturing Association of Canada began its battle with free trade. This debate was not centred on accepting US free trade in principle, but rather with other specific tariff related issues: "The real concern is that 70 per cent of footwear coming from the Pacific Rim will have the most impact. The effect of free trade is a spit in the ocean compared to that" (9). The phase-out schedule pertaining to footwear, handbags, leather, and components indicated that the duties on footwear fully manufactured in Canada or the United States which meets the country of origin rules under the FTA were to be reduced in 10 equal annual stages with total elimination by January 1, 1998.

The particular Canadian tariff that Women's Leather footwear (except athletic) category is subject to within the North American Free Trade agreement, is referred to as tariff #6403.59.00 (Appendix A). This latest agreement states that the tariff barriers for this classification of footwear are to be eliminated in seven stages as follows:

20% reduction on January 1, 1994, zero reduction on January 1, 1995, 10% reduction per years January 1 1996 to January 1, 2000 and 30% reduction on January 1, 2001. (10)

The present Canadian footwear tariffs for leather made in either the United States or Canada utilizing any third country components (specifically uppers) does not qualify for reduced tariff and remains subject to 22.8% tariff rates in Canada. This distinction has been made between shoes entirely manufactured in Canada and shoes partially assembled in

Canada. The purpose of the stricter 22.8% tariff rate for shoes partially assembled and comprised of third country components is to attempt to control the number of imported pairs of casual to low end Women's Leather Footwear sold in Canada. This particular classification of footwear has been dramatically infiltrated by less expensive and higher volumes from China and Taiwan especially. The impact has been so great over the past seven years, while Canadian manufacturers attempt to restructure their industries, that the Canadian Anti-Dumping tribunal for Footwear has been constantly monitoring imported pairs under this particular classification. The degree to which Canadian manufacturers have been affected varies with the type of footwear these plants manufacture, For instance, the boot and winter footwear manufacturers have been able to compete effectively with their ever increasing global competition, while Canadian manufacturers of low-end casual and all-purpose footwear have been in a state of decline since the global phase-out period began. It is largely these Canadian Footwear manufacturers that have not, been able to compete, and have had few alternatives. The exact impacts of these cheaper imports (discussed later in the paper) have forced certain manufacturers to quicken response time to be faster than foreign competitors at: switching production to other lines of Footwear; and transporting the products faster in order to refill orders of more popular footwear without any overseas

shipping time lag; developing a 'niche' in the footwear market for particular types of footwear that can best be produced by a Canadian company such as the boot and winter footwear industry.

Market niches are one way that market shares can be maintained in a highly competitive market. However, in the face of multinational companies which can shorten production time, increase economies of scale, and diversify product lines, competition becomes extremely fierce. This places a high priority on cost-cutting practices as an alternative method of coping with competition. In manufacturing, management typically pursues this method by making reductions in the labour force and subcontracting out, and/or by creating a more flexible labour force. Some of these strategies are currently being implemented by the Footwear industry and are discussed in detail in chapters four and five. According to economic theorist, Michael Best (1990), 'Computer-guided automation and subcontracting have enabled firms to reduce machine downtime, eliminate steps in manufacturing processes thus reducing labour pool, tighten inventory control, and modify material inputs and machine settings more readily in order to become more flexible--competitive in the market place' (11). All of these trends are evident in the downsizing and restructuring of the Canadian manufacturing sector.

2.5 Impacts of Economic Restructuring on Canadian Economy:

Along with the global slow down in annual growth rates in North America and Europe, growth has escalated in a number of traditionally poorer countries: in Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea, and Taiwan, all known as the world's Newly Industrialized Nations. In the Southern hemisphere, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico, have now become favourable locations for certain manufacturing plants as well as significant markets for consumer goods.

Growth in these previously mentioned countries has been directly linked to the stagnation, massive layoffs and plant closures occurring in particular industries within Canada's manufacturing sector. Two of these particular direct links which become particularly evident in the context of free trade discussions will be made explicit later in the paper using examples in Women's Leather Footwear and Electronic Housewares plants.

Debates in the literature concerning deindustrialization have raised discussion over the impact that increased mobility between countries has had on the shut down of Canadian plants resulting in massive layoffs, and a movement towards zones of cheaper labour, lower taxes, and weaker pollution controls. Certainly plant closures and layoffs have occurred. It is difficult, however, to determine the degree to which these impacts can be attributed to several processes going on simultaneously at several levels of geographic scale: vis-a-vis -- globalization of production, internationalization of

labour markets, the impacts of Canada-U.S. free trade, North American free trade, and de-industrialization of Ontario. An examination of this nature is not however, insurmountable. There are several significant studies which demonstrate the decline in the manufacturing sector and provide explanation for this trend. These articles allude to the acknowledgement that 'downsizing' is a function of 'global restructuring' which cannot be differentiated from specific 'freer trade' policies because they both hope to attain the same goal; to maintain and/or increase their market share in an increasingly competitive global market. Therefore, although specific Free trade policies have lead to jobs moving offshore towards the Maquiladoras (the Border Industrialization Program), or Free Trade Zones or Export Processing Zones of the Far East, (as my case study shows) and 'downsizing' has lead to permanent job loss, these events are all part of the globalization process.

The impacts of globalization processes on Canada's entire economy are clearly apparent both through the academic literature and the country's rising unemployment rates in specific sectors. Canada's manufacturing sector typifies some of these impacts.

2.6 Metropolitan Toronto Historical Overview:

Toronto provides a noteworthy case of a Canadian city in a state of transition. The changes in growth rate and function

of the city of Toronto indicate major turning points in the changing role of Toronto. Bunting and Fillion's book, 1991, Canadian Cities In Transition, highlight these pivotal points and organize them into four principal intervals; 1921, 1951, 1971, and 1981.

1921	rapid population growth and development of inner city core industrial activity
1951	immigrant influx and movement from periphery of Toronto's outerlying areas towards inner city's core manufacturing opportunities
1971	gradual shift of financial activities from eastern Canada and solidified inner core of Toronto
1981	period of contraction decline in industrial growth and population movement outward as Toronto establishes itself as a financial capital

(source: Maurice Yeates, 1975)

To begin, Maurice Yeates (1975) identified the Windsor to Quebec City axis as Canada's 'Main Street', and recognised Metropolitan Toronto as the largest urban-industrial centre on this axis and, indeed, in Canada. The criteria used to highlight each of these periods of transition for Toronto has been determined by the changing relationship existing between the core and the periphery regions of Canada (12).

In 1921 through to 1951, Canada's population increased significantly. Toronto's population during this time increased approximately eighty-two per cent. Growth was mainly due to

rural-to-urban migration. As Toronto established itself as an industrial capital the city's inner core swelled with manufacturing opportunities. Increases in manufacturing opportunities resulted in a significant switch from hinterland agrarian economic activities amongst the outerlying areas of Toronto towards urban activities within the city's inner core, which at this time consisted mainly of textiles and clothing related industries.

1951-1971 was a pivotal period in Toronto history for several reasons. There was continued rapid population growth. It resulted, however, from sources other than those of the former period; i.e. a high natural increase and a large influx of immigrants. There existed at this time considerable gains in employment in manufacturing and service industries which expanded to meet the demands, not just of the local population, but the needs of the peripheral regions. The economic growth within this era was also developed heavily by outside influences. In the wider context, several United States manufacturing firms were forced to locate a portion of their operations within Canada. The location patterns of these American plants required branch plants in Canada from key manufacturers such as the auto industry in the 1960s and accounts for much of Toronto's dynamic growth at this time.

In this period, it is clear that the consolidation of Toronto's growth is related to the growth of specific industries such as textiles and clothing where manufacturing

as a sector fared best. There was also an emphasis on new immigrants who could more easily take advantage of these specific manufacturing employment opportunities in Toronto's inner core industrial sector than perhaps its peripheral regions. Finally, towards the end of this era, the City of Toronto was the focus of a gradual shift of financial activity from Montreal to Toronto. The results of these factors manifested themselves in the densely populated inner core, with little movement towards the outlying area of the city.

The final period of transition is described as the 'Period of Contraction' (13). There are two key changes during this period which mark the end of Toronto's primary function as a rapid industrial growth centre. The first change concerns itself with a demographic growth slowdown. There occurred a reduction in immigrant settlement in Toronto, decreased rural to urban migration, and a slowdown in the natural population increase. This period was noted as a period of demographic stabilization within the city of Toronto.

The second change provides the economic transition that makes Toronto the choice area of study, namely, the city's decline in manufacturing. As noted above, the city's inner core population stabilized and then declined as people and head office activity move outward into Metropolitan region. Traditionally central city manufacturing activity also is moving outward to less expensive, less congested land. This trend occurs simultaneously with another aspect of economic

Companies with fewer than twenty employees represented more than half of the total decline in employment in the first half of 1990. Their average monthly employment fell by 52,000 jobs or 2.3 per cent in Ontario during the first six months of 1990. Employment in firms with 20-49 workers were down 20,000 or 1.9 per cent. Employment in firms with fifty or more employees dropped 22,000 jobs or 0.3 per cent (statistics Canada, 1990). This OFL study also discussed the special situation of women workers in Ontario's manufacturing businesses. The article reports,

"that the position of women workers in the manufacturing sector should be of special concern. Many of the industries that will face the most severe adjustment process rely heavily on women workers. Typically these industries also have lower skill requirements and have undergone no skills upgrading. Thus the average level of skill of women workers in vulnerable industries and services (their emphasis) is lower than the average level of skill in the manufacturing sector as a whole. Women workers in vulnerable industries therefore face a far higher likelihood of job loss and confront a far more difficult situation in finding new employment".

(Ontario Federation Of Labour: April, 1991)

In summary, this literature provides a breadth of information concerning the processes attributable to manufacturing declines both on the local scale of Metropolitan Toronto as well as the national scale of the United Kingdom. The impacts of this manufacturing decline have occurred on all levels of scale affecting all industrialised countries' economies. This review highlights how industrial restructuring and worker dislocation have been strongly evidenced both within Ontario and other industrial centres. Throughout the 1990s, this will continue to be so as new spatial divisions of labour are

degree to which the phenomenon surrounding Metropolitan Toronto's decline in manufacturing can be explored. In order to begin this inquiry, it is necessary to review some of the literature pertinent to this discussion.

A logical beginning to a review of the literature on Toronto's declining manufacturing sector is a study produced by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto in 1985, namely, The Deindustrialization of Metropolitan Toronto: A Study of Plant Closures, Layoffs and Unemployment. The report examined some of the unexplored factors which have contributed to Metropolitan Toronto's declining manufacturing sector. The paper cites uniquely urban problems such as aging multi-storey plants, traffic congestion, poor road access, high land costs, high municipal taxes, and excessive planning regulations, as factors contributing to the decline in manufacturing. This report holds all of these factors under a metaphorical umbrella referred to as 'economic adjustment' (15). The authors also acknowledge that deindustrialization experienced in the early 1980s involved the closing down of both profitable and unprofitable plants within the City of Toronto and its Census Metropolitan Areas. Discovering this forced the authors to recognize that other external factors which were pulling certain industries out of Toronto and pushing them into other geographic locations existed. This study concerned itself with plants whose layoffs and closures have been recorded by the Ministry of Labour sources and

therefore had reasons for closing which were well documented. This recorded information disclosed a unique set of factors attributed to the decline of manufacturing in both the City of Toronto and its CMAs. The report draws attention to capital mobility on a global scale as an increasingly important factor when corporations are seeking to develop a new international economic order. It states that increasingly traditional regional comparative advantages are becoming irrelevant and that industry can now draw on a virtually inexhaustible supply of cheap labour. For example, between the third quarter of 1981 and the second quarter of 1984, a total of 41,000 jobs, nineteen per cent of all manufacturing jobs in Metropolitan Toronto were lost (16), thus illustrating that the pattern of job loss reflects a process of deindustrialization within both the City of Toronto and Metropolitan Toronto. Urban deindustrialization was most pronounced in the centre of the urban area; i.e., in the City of Toronto proper. Between 1971 and 1981, the City of Toronto actually lost 27.9 per cent of its total manufacturing employment with every major industry sector but one, knitting mills, experiencing substantial declines (17). This report is an important contribution to the examination of Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing decline.

Yet another paper published by the Social Planning Council for Metropolitan Toronto, namely, Cyclical Factors, Technological Change, Capital Mobility, and

Deindustrialization in Metropolitan Toronto (1986), attributes the major layoffs at manufacturing plants between 1981 and 1984 to one of three primary causes: cyclical factors, technological change, and industrial restructuring. The paper distinguishes processes which have been placed in the broader context of the global community by another Geographer, Doreen Massey. The decline in manufacturing production industries and these processes identified above correspond to those associated with most industrialised capitalist countries such as Britain. Doreen Massey studied industrial restructuring in the United Kingdom. In Massey's Book, Spatial Divisions of Labour, she highlights the downturn manufacturing employment in Britain, 1966, as reflecting long-term and generalised changes in the technological process and the division of labour. Massey also notes that within a global context, the absolute decline in the number of people employed in manufacturing is also common to many industrialised countries, but the fact that this generalised downturn took place earlier in Britain than anywhere else, reflects long-term cyclical and structural weaknesses within Britain's overall economy. Such an observation could be argued to be the case in Canada's declining manufacturing sector. This argument, however, was not put forth in the aforementioned paper prepared for the Social Planning Council for Metropolitan Toronto. In that paper, factors which were briefly discussed in their 1985 study are clearly fleshed out in the 1986 paper.

The Social Planning Council's paper contained an investigation showing that one-half of the plant closures were due to cyclical factors, and that only eight of the sixty-one plant closures surveyed were due to technological change. What was interesting to note is that the remaining one-third of these plant closures were attributed to capital mobility, corporate restructuring, and rationalization. Of the firms that were investigated, "the clothing, textile, and shoe sectors experienced considerable job loss in the 1981-1984 period, including fourteen plant closures brought about by cyclical pressures coupled with competition from newly industrialized countries in the cheaper end of the product range" (18). The paper illustrates that another group of industries deeply affected by cyclical factors were metal fabricating, machinery, and electrical products. Again, these firms were large enough to be recorded in the official records through the Ministry of Labour. Another important piece of information uncovered in this particular study, however, was that while each firm closure involved a unique set of circumstances, it was clearly evident that many of transnational, or at least multi-plant firms with operations situated in different parts of Canada, were in a position to switch capital and production either internationally or between regions. Again this phenomenon was discussed in Doreen Massey's case study of industrial restructuring in Britain. In the case of Britain, multi-regional structures or corporations

allowed for capital in new technological investment, spatially located in south-east England and a technology of mass-production, scattered throughout northern England. This information concerning the capital mobility of transnational corporations is confirmed through my own study of the Footwear and Electronic Housewares firms.

Possibly the most explicit data available demonstrating the decline in manufacturing were obtained from a series of annual reports provided by the Ontario Ministry of Labour. These reports use information that was gathered under Ontario's Employment Standards Act (Section 40 and Regulation 286). The Act states that employers are required to report to the Minister of Labour permanent and indefinite layoffs involving fifty or more workers that occur within a four week period. Permanent layoffs are those associated with a full or partial closure of a firm's operations.

During 1987-1989, the trends in permanent layoffs in the manufacturing sector of Ontario rose gradually from 8,000 persons in 1987 to 14,000 in 1989. The ministry states one factor that can be attributed to these layoffs was the rise in the value of the Canadian dollar from .754 cents U.S. in 1987, to its peak of .873 cents U.S. in 1990, a development that seriously eroded the ability of many of Ontario's manufacturers to compete in the United States market place. Other contributing factors, according to the Ministry of

Labour, were the introduction of the Canada-United States Trade Agreement which accelerated the pace of economic restructuring and the emergence of a recession in the economy which also led firms to downsize, consolidate operations or file for bankruptcy at a noticeably high rate. Within these permanent layoffs in Ontario's manufacturing sector, the highest concentration of unemployed was in the transportation equipment industries with 11,385 reported job losses which reflected a 15 per cent decrease in the total labour force in this sector. In this category, the automotive parts manufacturers lost the largest proportion of jobs with a 17 per cent decrease in this industry's total labour force. The second largest category of job losses was in the electrical and electronic products industry's with 7,332 layoffs which reflected a decline of 11 per cent in this industries total labour force. The leather and allied products industry faced only 1,259 layoffs. However, the total number of persons employed in the leather industry in 1989 was approximately 4,328 persons, which means that in Ontario, one out of every four persons in that industry was laid off.

Also, over the 1989-1990 period, the incidence of job loss arising from complete and partial closures is especially high in both the more traditional labour intensive, high import penetration industries (textiles, clothing, and shoes), and in those industries where the technology is more sophisticated but highly standardized (electrical and electronic products,

household and office furniture, metal fabrication, primary metals, motor vehicle parts and accessories). Another important feature from these annual reports is indicated in a comparative analysis of the layoffs occurring between 1980 and 1984. This period of time is marked by an economic downturn (recession) as was the 1990-93 period. There is however, a distinct difference between these two periods of economic decline that is reflected in a shift in the composition of permanent and indefinite layoffs. Unlike the 1982 cyclical downturn, this latest recession is overlaid by a much more intensive industrial restructuring process. There were 31,787 reported permanent and indefinite layoffs in 1990. Of these, complete and partial closures accounted for a substantial majority (64.7 per cent), while reduced operations accounted for 35.3 per cent. In 1982 however, even though the total number of workers affected by permanent and indefinite layoffs was higher (46,047 persons), three quarters of them were in the reduced operations category, while complete and partial closures accounted for only one-quarter of the total reported layoffs. This difference illustrates a further decline in the manufacturing permanent labour force within Ontario.

Finally, the Ontario Federation of Labour reported in 1991, through their study, Adjustment and Restructuring: Confronting the Implications of Free Trade, that small manufacturing businesses, which created new employment in the late 1970s, are now the source of the most job losses in Ontario.

Companies with fewer than twenty employees represented more than half of the total decline in employment in the first half of 1990. Their average monthly employment fell by 52,000 jobs or 2.3 per cent in Ontario during the first six months of 1990. Employment in firms with 20-49 workers were down 20,000 or 1.9 per cent. Employment in firms with fifty or more employees dropped 22,000 jobs or 0.3 per cent (statistics Canada, 1990). This OFL study also discussed the special situation of women workers in Ontario's manufacturing businesses. The article reports,

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developed and capital mobility and government international policy continue to prescribe how these divisions of labour will form geographically. Tariff protection will continue to fall as a result of the CUSTA, NAFTA, and the GATT negotiations. Industrial restructuring, worker displacement and labour market adjustments are issues that need to be re-examined in order to understand the circumstances and attitudes of people impacted by these many changes.

CHAPTER THREE

Introduction:

In dealing with perspectives on economic restructuring within manufacturing Richard Harris and David Cox provide an introduction into the theoretical framework attempted in this section of the paper. The various interpretations that contribute to this discussion demonstrate approaches towards an economic condition whose impacts are literally transforming the spatial labour force structure at all levels of scale. These levels of scale include: an internationalization of the division of labour, mass permanent layoffs targeting the most vulnerable elements of the Canadian labour force, impacts on the established function of the city of Metropolitan Toronto. Changes in labour force activity summon the need to review classical interpretations from Colin Clarke, Ajit Singh, Martin and Hodge, Barry Bluestone, Bennet Harrison, and Adam Smith. This framework then explores alternative

interpretations which allow us to re-examine how we define the role that economic restructuring is playing within the manufacturing labour force.

3.1 Economic Restructuring inside the Manufacturing Sector:

The impacts of 'economic restructuring' processes upon Toronto's manufacturing labour force have been severe. These impacts are characterized by major layoffs and plant closures throughout the metropolitan area. In 1983, R.G. Harris, and D. Cox defined 'economic restructuring' as a process (1). They attributed this process to many factors that can be associated with the further decline of manufacturing in Canada.

There are studies which examined Canada's decline in manufacturing between 1975-1985 (2), and there is a body of literature which sought to predict the impacts of freer growth strategies on the Canadian economy (3). However, the role that freer trade growth strategies have actually had on the decline of specific industries in Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector is an area where little empirical evidence is available. This assertion becomes even more definite when attempting to examine the impacts of freer trade policies on small manufacturing businesses.

The literature does, however, anticipate that industries reliant upon trade barriers, "such as Leather, Food Processing, Electronic parts, Clothing, Textiles, and Footwear, would experience serious declines in productivity at

the commence of such freer trade policies" (4). These declines would result largely from the anticipated inability of previously protected industries to compete in the global market. It was expected that such changes would leave those employed within the industries particularly vulnerable and susceptible to layoffs. In the Norcliffe and Goldrick paper, Cyclical factors, Technological Change, Capital Mobility, and Deindustrialization in Metropolitan Toronto (1986), 'capital mobility and corporate restructuring' were the factors identified and used to categorize the closures taking place as a result of shifts in production amongst certain countries where wage levels are low and labour productivity is higher. Their detection of this phenomenon illustrated the early impacts that these factors could have on the structure of Metropolitan Toronto's labour force. Today, these factors are more clearly realized through the phrase 'economic restructuring'.

The decline of specific industries in the manufacturing sector under freer trade policies was predicted and acknowledged years before the North American Free Trade agreement or even the Canada-United States trade arrangement was ratified (5). It was understood by those for and against increased market access growth strategies that certain industries would experience a decline. Several different schools of thought prevail when attempting to rationalize this economic phenomenon. Conventional theories, however, can be

argued to be fundamentally flawed as the premise of these interpretations is based upon unfounded assumptions that can no longer be overlooked and which will become more explicit later in this chapter.

3.2 Conventional Approaches in Review:

According to liberal economist teaching, restructuring attributed to trade liberalization is viewed as a standard process, 'whereby, in a country with a well-developed manufacturing base, either the proportion or the absolute size of the workforce employed in manufacturing declines substantially, while the proportion employed in the service sector simultaneously undergoes a corresponding increase' (6). This process of deindustrialization for key industries is merely 'an inevitable long-run structural feature of all advanced industrial countries engaged in trade with lesser developed countries' (7).

Overlain on these long-term trends attributable to trade liberalization in conjunction with technological change are business cycles which periodically accelerate the secular process of structural change (8). Economic liberals perceive "recessions as part of a vigorous economic process whereby inefficient and marginal producers are squeezed out of business, with both capital and resources then being freed up and reallocated more efficiently during the next upsurge" (9). In consequence, proponents of this interpretation of

'restructuring' attribute plant closures and layoffs either to the impact of a recession and similar cyclical factors, or to corporate rationalization. It is how a healthy economy outgrows its manufacturing base in order to fit into its increasing service activities brought about through the process of technological change.

Other theories reject the liberal framework for an interpretation of economic restructuring within manufacturing. These researchers view plant closures and mass layoffs as an 'economic malaise' (10), that create serious societal problems of crime, unemployment and social dislocation associated with high levels of economic restructuring. The Cambridge school of economics subscribes to this opposing position and purports, "that the decline in a country's manufacturing sector occurs when a nation's industries fail to compete with foreign producers who therefore capture the domestic market" (11). The outcome results in the demand for domestic goods being satisfied through high importation. These "high levels of importation can lead to trade deficits and inflation" (12). The solution however, for both liberal economists and the Cambridge school, is found through the expansion into a larger market (13). A decline in manufacturing results from both internal structural stagnation as well as product failures in domestic markets. It is, therefore, perceived that disinvestment in local manufacturing increases this decline and that capital mobility combined with trade liberalization

strategies redirect local employment into other sectors (14).

3.3 Critique of Conventional Approaches:

The final interpretation being presented differs philosophically from the two former schools of thought as it attempts to deconstruct the basic conventional 'principles of economics' which state that, 'a productive society is one where individuals are free to pursue their own interest through the private market' (15). The tenet of this conventional belief is, therefore, that market mechanisms (specifically freer trade policies) are best able to sort out the wants, abilities, and needs of individuals if they are not unduly restricted by regulation, protectionism, and other forms of government interference. This current doctrine of market liberalism here in Canada has been viewed as a new economic salvation. Market liberalism supports the notion of markets as having a natural form whose structure and rules of operation define themselves most efficiently when left to their own dynamic (16). The contention with any interpretation imbued with this perception of market forces lies in a fundamental untheorized assumption which states that "the natural working of the vast global market mechanisms will eventually sort things out to the benefit of all, as long as we are willing to be patient and flexible" (17). Even more specifically, the assumption that market forces, through downsizing Canada's manufacturing sector, will better those who

are being unemployed in these industries.

How can a creed illogically propose that the structure and rules of an unfettered market place define themselves most **efficiently** without first acknowledging that this definition of 'efficiently' incorporates mass sectoral unemployment which has been predicted (and supported) to systematically impact specifically vulnerable demographic groups? The belief in the economic theory that Canadian policy makers are currently reflecting, is an expectation of outcomes which are designed to improve business competitiveness. It is believed that this will ultimately benefit the country's population. Current employment rates, especially for specific demographic groups, illustrate that perhaps this 'ultimate benefit' still remains an untheorized assumption here in Canada.

3.4 Rethinking Labour Market Theory:

Even if the decline in Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing industries can be attributed to a global shifting of power in Canada's economic sectors, and/or competitive failures in domestic and foreign markets as conventional approaches such as those by Ajit Singh's U.K. industry and World Economy: a case of deindustrialization and Barry Bluestone and Bennet Harrison's, The Deindustrialization of America advocate, there is still a lack of detailed interpretation and explanation when examining the possible impacts of plant closures and

layoffs on a given labour market. The criticism of these specific approaches exists for any strategy which attempts to function within a myopic theoretical framework, one that continues the assumption that, for any given labour force, males and females are presumed to have equal access to information and power in making choices that are designed to 'maximize utility and profit and that weigh leisure against further economic gain', (18).

These traditional approaches acknowledge and describe employment losses within the manufacturing sector as attributable to market restructuring: they are part of an ideological package in which comparative advantage is a fundamental component. This ideological package, as described by Pat and Hugh Armstrong, has conventionally segmented labour into a primary labour market which is linked to the manufacturing core characterized by 'skilled males' (19), and the secondary labour market, characterised by low wages, few opportunities, embodying 'the other' as an undifferentiated group (20). As political economists Marjor' Cohen (1982), and Martha Macdonald (1984) have pointed out in their surveys of the economic literature, the assumption of gender neutrality behind these traditional theories makes it difficult to provide an adequate distinction and explanation of men and women's work. For these theorists, market forces and rational choice prevail and inequalities are taken for granted.

The shortcomings of conventional economic approaches have

become quite significant for feminist economists attempting to study current economic employment behaviour within Canada. This deficiency in conventional theory contradicts present day economic realities which make it impossible to ignore the distinct role and place of females in the labour force. There has been an increase in the total number of women in the workforce over the past several decades, such that women now comprise nearly half of the present Canadian labour force. In Canada, males constitute 54 per cent of the present total labour force, part-time as well as full-time (Statistics Canada, Spring 1993). Women, therefore, make up 46 per cent or almost one half of all employed Canadians.

There can be no argument about the fact that women are generally confined to specific sectors of the economy and inside those specific sectors, women make up the majority of those with lower wages, less job security, unskilled labour, lack of opportunities, and comprise the majority of the labour force engaged in part-time work (21). Mainstream economic doctrines, however, fail to appropriately acknowledge and/or confront the many differences facing men and women within any given labour market.

The Human Capital theory, discussed in Pat and Hugh Armstrong's Theorizing Women's Work, (1990), comes out of the neo-classical economics paradigm, which illustrates a potent example of existing approaches to women in the work force. In this theory, people are assumed to make rational choices about

investing in their own development; i.e., their own human capital. They make this investment by improving their education, their training, and their skills, and they reinvest when demands for skills change. It is also assumed that people are paid on the basis of their marginal productivity, which is in turn related to their human capital. Women, then, are paid less because they invested less in their own development for the market and therefore are less productive. They are segregated into female jobs often because they have only developed women's skills (22). Segregation and low pay are women's fault because they have failed to learn appropriate skills or to obtain appropriate education (23). This theory's assumptions are contradicted by empirical evidence gathered decades ago (see Sylvia Ostry, The Female Worker in Canada, Statistics Canada: 1968). Unfortunately, this theory can only be recognized for merely acknowledging gender differences within the workforce.

It is crucial that Canadian economists begin to develop and broaden their perspectives to take into account the characteristics that make up both halves of the Canadian work force. This greater understanding could encompass a broader theoretical framework in which gender differences within the labour market are recognized. The short term effects of such a remodelling towards progressive approaches would empower persons with a new paradigm in which to explore, correlate,

and contrast the many ways in which males and females are affected by economic policy directives. It appears apparent that while traditional mainstream approaches have developed to the point where gender is acknowledged as a factor in the labour market, explanation of why it is women who are consistently segregated to the bottom of the job and wage heap (24) is still absent from applied economic theory.

The significance of this particular aspect of my theoretical framework becomes evident when exploring the impacts of current freer trade growth policies on both men and women inside the manufacturing labour market. There are indications, from the 1972-75 recession, of the dramatic effects that export-led trade policies can have on manufacturing employees.

In March 1979, the former Canadian Department industry, Trade, and Commerce, produced a report, 'The Labour Force Tracking Project Costs of Labour Adjustment Study'. This study examined what happened to employees in the textiles, clothing, and electrical and electronics industries as import competition increased and as plant closures and dramatic job losses within these industries occurred. The study indicated that women were hurt much more than men in all of the sectors identified above. Unemployment rates for women during the mid-70s increased dramatically while those for men remained relatively stable.

The Ontario Ministry of Labour also produced a study of plant

closures in May 1984, for the manufacturing sector. This study examined the impact of manufacturing losses on wage rates and shifts in the structure of employment by gender (Ontario Ministry of Labour, 'Labour Market Experiences of Workers in Plant Closures: A Survey of 21 Cases'). In this study, the implications were also negative for women. While males on average improved their wages, women's wages on average declined: 25 per cent of the males, but 42 per cent of the females reported earning less than they had before they were laid off. More recent studies also indicate that many men become worse off as well. Large increases in men's unemployment have recently (since 1980s) been looked at as a factor in studies attempting to examine wage gaps. These wage gaps between men and women indicate small improvements for women relative to men. Large increases in men's unemployment and women's over-representation in part-time employment were cited as components leading to these marginal improvements in wage gaps (25).

Clearly these experiences indicate a history within the manufacturing sector in which Canadian women appear to have much to lose when economic restructuring driven by market liberalism occurs. It has been proven in the past that Canadian women within these industries become worse off when their jobs are lost. While the impacts on women within other countries may present a different perspective, these local studies succeed in depicting gender as an issue that must be

considered when assessing the effects of Canadian economic policies.

3.5 Gender and the Labour Market:

Women and men participate in the paid labour market on very different bases. Women's employment globally is segregated horizontally in a limited range of occupations and of jobs within occupations, as well as vertically at the bottom of the occupational ladder. Such segregation almost invariably corresponds to lower earnings and inferior working conditions for women and is accompanied by an acknowledgement of labour within the home which accords women the major share of child-care and other domestic labour.

The above statement can be illustrated in Canada using the micro-electronic industry and its connection to developing countries. The Ottawa-Carleton area is called Silicon Valley North, a reference to the giant sprawl of micro-tech factories in California's original 'Silicon Valley' (26). The tiny components made by women of developing countries are shipped to the multinational plants in Canada for assembly into larger electrical appliances usually sold in Canada.

Working conditions of women employed in the micro-electronic factories in Canada are remarkably similar to women working in developing country plants. So while there are also examples of component manufacturing employees from China to Kanata being repatriated, the labour and its associated pay and conditions

remain the same. Employees tend to be "immigrant and low-income women who are in need of employment--a large percentage Asian and South Asian" (27). As in developing countries Export Free Zones, the minimum wage is paid, and the women receive few, if any benefits. The plants they work in can be relocated within the space of a few weeks. Between 1970-1978, 15, 000 Canadian workers in consumer electronics and telecommunications lost their jobs when plants relocated to cheaper developing countries (28).

There is a clear and strict spatial division of labour within the micro-electronic industry. On the whole, it is the women who perform the fragmented, repetitive and often dangerous assembly line tasks; while the men are largely cast in the role of technician and supervisor. This statement is further supported by Morgan and Sayer's work on Japanese branch plants in South Wales. In this paper, firm specific practices concerning the hiring and promotion strategies of Japanese branch plants describe the conditions for female labour. The segregated workplace is a reality in both developing countries as well as (so called) developed countries.

Micro-tech companies respond to questions regarding division of labour on the basis of gender by explaining that (in their opinion), women are naturally suited for these tasks. The following is a quote from Women and Men and the International Division of Labour., 1989, in which an excerpt from a brochure

promoting the location of multinational plants in 'Malaysia:
The Solid State for Electronics' is quoted:

The manual dexterity of the oriental female is famous the world over. Her hands are small and she works fast with extreme care. Who, therefore could better be qualified by nature and inheritance to contribute to the efficiency of a bench-assembly production line than the oriental girl. (p.15)

This paper further exposes how the particular advertisement quoted above supports the notion that women are 'qualified by nature' for this type of electronic work. Even though this work requires specific skills, it is not a highly valued job. Statements such as these systematically de-value this work and therefore rationalize the pay differentials between men and women. These wage gaps are as common in developing countries as they are in Canada --the only difference is in the degree. For example, in 1987, female workers in the Philippines earned the equivalent of \$0.37 for every dollar that a man earned for performing the same task, while in Canada women earn, on average \$0.61, (The Participatory Research Group, Toronto: 1989).

What are the forces that perpetuate these inequities in the labour market? Unicausal explanations do not provide an adequate framework in which to analyze the inequalities between men's and women's positions. Rather these circumstances have resulted from a complex combination of factors and their inter-relationships. Such factors include

material variables such as wages where gender is important. Key to a study of this nature is the understanding of how the,

"labour market is not a gender neutral context to which women simply bring a set of preconditioned attitudes; instead it is permeated by implicit gender ideology activated through the practices of management, unions, male workers, and women themselves'.(29)

To understand the ways in which the labour market is gendered, it is necessary to take into account the system of social reproduction, including the division of labour in the family, reciprocal relations in the wider kin group or community, and assumptions concerning sexuality, fertility, procreation, and nurturance. Another important point is the construction of subjective identity through media, the state, and educational system, offering images of the values of home and motherhood and paid work, which, like the system of social reproduction, vary between class and race. Such variations mean that although it is possible to make some general statements about the relationship between work and gender, the use of a homogeneous definition of 'women's work' precludes adequate explanation of either the structure of the labour market or the determinants of women's own self-perceptions and consciousness (30). Explanations of the gendering of the labour market must therefore take explicit account of differences by race and class.

The use of comparative analysis for the conditions under which men and women work and the ways their work is defined becomes necessary both to expose inequality and explain the

ways in which women's inferior position in the workforce is reinforced and can therefore be challenged. Many previous studies have been related to women's position either in the 'North' or the 'South', implying a disjunction between the experiences of women in the distinct contexts. The importance of this acknowledgement of the cross-cultural conditions of women within manufacturing is an important component. In my own study, these cross-cultural associations are merely acknowledged as the connection between declining employment in the Canadian manufacturing sector corresponding to an increase in employment opportunities in certain developing countries' specific industries within their manufacturing sectors. There is a further acknowledgement made in my case study that this phenomenon is currently creating a new international division of labour which is spatially differentiated and yet its labour force composition remains constant in terms of gender.

The structural factors affecting the movement of manufacturing businesses from region to region are based on responses to increasingly competitive conditions such as: freer access to markets, raw materials and the availability and cost of labour (31). Declines in manufacturing are also the result of changes in technology, and the ways in which production is organized. But the most significant structural shifts currently taking place are related to the global reorganization of corporations (32). The new international spatial division of labour is placing Japan, South Korea,

Taiwan, China, and Mexico as rising industrial countries which are in a position to access industry specific first world markets such as Canada's Leather Footwear and Electronic Housewares industries at a rate never before experienced in Canadian economic history. The motivation for this economic and spatial transformation largely by transnational corporations, is reflected in the changing location of production processes from First world economies towards Third world economies as the search for cheap labour is supported by new international trade agreements. Both Massey & Meegan, (Politics and Method: Contrasting Studies in Industrial Geography) and Norcliffe & Goldrick, (Cyclical Factors, Technological Change, Capital Mobility, and Deindustrialization in Metropolitan Toronto), discuss the ability of international business to create a new international division of labour as it relates to four dominant factors.

The first factor is the availability of a cheap and almost inexhaustible supply of labour, predominantly from developing countries. Incorporated into this large pool of labour is the existence of facilities which produce on enormous economies of scale.

The second factor pertains to the demographic make up of this labour. The labour forces are comprised mostly of women (33). This occurs for many reasons but one key factor is that they are perceived as least likely to disrupt the social climate of

the workplace (through strikes over conditions, wages, etc.). A third contributing factor concerns the development of new modes of production technologies. These technological advancements have allowed for the fragmentation of the entire production process, to the point where in many instances, a non-unionized labour force with low-skill levels and small amounts of training are now employed within industries that manufacture complex and sophisticated products (34).

Finally, the revolution occurring inside transportation and telecommunications technology provides the fourth factor, as it is now possible for international corporations to move products, managers and information across the globe both quickly and economically. The ability for transnational corporations to shift labour production globally in conjunction with market expansion allows capital, which has always been fluid, the ability to become "hypermobile" (35), in a race to take advantage of the remaining cheap labour pools. The long range implications for this redesigned division of labour across the globe will, according to Massey (Spatial Divisions of Labour), result in a 'harmonizing' or levelling out process in order to develop a 'real wage' internationally (36). This harmonization trend is occurring downward in Canada, but upward in the NICs as it affects both wages and international environmental issues for it is the obvious reality of the business to work towards the goal of maximizing profits. This is predicted to have further

deleterious effects for men and women in the manufacturing sector of the labour force in the industrialised nations of the North.

3.6 Summary Statement:

By attempting to probe the fundamental beliefs underlying many popular economic theories, the intention has been to question the validity of the power that market forces have in their endeavour to create a 'better off' (37) society for all. In this chapter, it is the theoretical parameters set by the chosen literature that have been explored in an attempt to introduce the necessity for empirical studies along gender lines. Surveyed evidence of the differences and similarities between the two halves of the labour force in all sectors of economic activity are the ingredients needed to forge new interpretations for research questions. The survey that was conducted in the following chapter attempts to begin an exploration of men and women in the labour force. By observing and recording the positions and the job layoffs for both men and women found within two of Metropolitan Toronto's Manufacturing industries, the intention has been to raise questions along gender and cultural lines from observations based on similarities and differences in labour force activity.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

Introduction:

The data collection procedure for this study has necessitated the use of several different approaches. These techniques have included: the examination of industry publications, journals, and relevant newsletters from specific industrial organizations, academic research papers written on the topic, and interviewing thirty-two small business 'General Managers' within Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector.

I have limited the scope of my study of employment trends within the manufacturing sector in two important ways. Throughout the formulation of my research question, I have acknowledged various practical constraints that influenced and moulded both the specificity and the geographic scope of my thesis. Firstly, I decided to study manufacturing businesses found only within the Metropolitan Toronto boundaries. This localized study area provided a sufficient number of potential

interview respondents and kept my travel expenses to a minimum. Secondly, because I was primarily concerned with gender, I chose to study only two specific manufacturing industries, one containing a male dominated labour force and the other containing a female dominated labour force. There were several other reasons that I chose these two industries. For instance, both of these general industries were considered 'vulnerable' to freer trade policies. Second, both of these particular industries are labour intensive, manufacturing quite specialized products. Third, those manufacturing plants located in Metropolitan Toronto were small and indigenous businesses with little or no formal infrastructure. This meant that middle-management was virtually non-existent within both of these industries in contrast to several transnational corporations in each of the two industries which have extensive infrastructure. Finally, there was a similar total number of plants from each industry located within my Metropolitan Toronto study area. The choice of these two particular industries allowed for a comparative analysis, but in no way reflected the importance of these industries vis-a-vis other vulnerable manufacturing industries within Metropolitan Toronto. Rather, it indicates the suitability of my chosen industries for a comparative analysis based on a series of variables common to both.

Chapter four has been structured to include numerous objectives. The first section outlines: the rationale for my

choice in location, methodological techniques used in the study, an overview of the Electronics and Footwear industry's current operations, the questionnaire format and interview responses analyzed in quantitative terms only. The second section of chapter four focuses on a discussion of the findings from qualitative responses obtained through the survey questionnaire.

SECTION ONE

Research Objectives:

The objectives of this study are twofold: (1) To discover, in general terms, what are the causes that can be attributed to employment trends within the Women's Leather Footwear industry and the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry in Metropolitan Toronto between 1987 and 1992; and, (2) To examine these two manufacturing industries to explore which employees have been impacted on by permanent layoffs and closures in both the male dominated and the female dominated industry.

Location:

The sample study area is defined as Metropolitan Toronto (see Map One). The area was chosen for two reasons. First, Ontario accounts for 60% of all Leather manufacturing in Canada, most of which occurs in Metropolitan Toronto. 70 per cent of all Canadian Electronic manufacturing occurs in Ontario, of which approximately 40 per cent occurs in Metropolitan Toronto plants (1).

Second, businesses were close enough to allow for individual face-to-face interviews by the researcher at a low cost. This allowed for an attempt at, 'a non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian, non-manipulative, humble relation to the subject' (2). Such an approach was important as the intention was to obtain both qualitative and quantitative responses that could only be obtained by an understanding on the part of the respondent that it was his/her level of expertise and experience that was being sought.

4.1 Canadian Electronics Industry Overview:

According to the Electrical and Electronic Manufacturers Association (1993), the Canadian Electrical and Electronic products industry employs a total of approximately 120,000 persons across Canada including Research and Development

personnel. Statistics Canada's figures differ as they only count those persons engaged in production activity. Their gender breakdown shows that approximately 40 000 of this industry's employees are male and that 26 000 are female, (Statistics Canada, Manufacturing Industries in Canada, 1991). This entire industry produces an annual manufactured output valued at approximately twenty billion dollars, of which approximately two billion are exported. The industry is comprised of several sector specific product sections which include: power equipment, commercial and residential equipment, telecommunications, marketing through distribution, lighting, electronic houseware components, diagnostics imaging and therapy systems and so on (3). Of these specific product sections: "Electronic Housewares and Fans" contained a male dominated labour force. The entire Canadian electrical and electronic products industry accounts for approximately 10 per cent of women's work in the manufacturing sector (4).

The Canadian electrical and electronic products industry in general has continued to have appeal in development programs because of its promise within specific product sections (telecommunications, diagnostic imaging, therapy systems) as high technology industries that are expanding rapidly on a global level. These particular 'high tech' global trend alliances are currently being pushed by such advocates as the Electronic and Electrical Manufacturers Association. There appears to be a perceived need for Canadian electronics

companies to sell into foreign markets early in their corporate lives because of the limited size of their own domestic market. This statement is also true in the production of Home electronic products such as CD players, blenders, light fixtures, sauna heaters, air conditioners, VCRs, hair dryers, and so on. According to a publication from Ernst & Young in 1990, Canadian electrical and electronics manufacturing companies in general are not leaders in the push towards selling into foreign markets mainly because of their size. Instead, electronics in Canada is, "a niche-oriented sector, where Canadian industry has no broad capabilities" (5). Consequently, it was indicated that the perspective for small specialized firms within this industry would depend substantially on their size and whether or not they are domestic or foreign firms.

During the initial discussions toward freer trade alliances, there was a tendency for the larger, foreign owned Electronic Housewares and Fans plants to favour opening up the Canadian market. Industries such as Phillips Electronics, Sunbeam Corp, Proctor Silex, Standard Appliances Ltd, and Lennox industries encouraged trade liberalist strategies from within Canada (6), while many of the smaller, Canadian owned Electronic Housewares and Fans firms opposed this push. Canadian owned firms account for 80 per cent of all electronic and electrical firms located in Canada. The foreign-owned firms, however, accounted for 55 per cent of the total industry's annual sales

(7). According to another study by Ernst & Young, Electronics '93: The New Global Reality, more than 600 electronics, computer and instrumentation plants closed down across the globe in the first half of 1992, as business failures were twenty-three per cent higher than in the previous year. This study surveyed thirty Canadian companies which claimed that, 'out of necessity, they are establishing overseas alliances and new foreign-based operations' (8). These current trends are impacting on the employment structures inside the remaining plants which have yet to be examined.

The Electronic Housewares and Fans is but one product specialization industry within the Canadian electrical and electronics industry. The Electronic Housewares and Fans industry produces a wide range of electronic products for domestic and personal use which fall under the broad categories of personal care, cooking and heating products, floor care products, and food and beverage preparation. In 1990, according to the Industry, Science and Technology Canada, there were sixty-five businesses in Canada that manufactured small portable electronic appliances, located mainly in Ontario and Quebec. So, while the Canadian electronic and electrical industry in general is widely dispersed across the country, the Electronic Housewares and Fans plants tend to be clustered around Toronto and Montreal. Possible reasons for the locational choices of these particular plants will be discussed later in the paper. The

total employment in this area of product specialization averaged 17 000 people, (Statistics Canada. Manufacturing Industries of Canada: National and Provincial Areas, April 1991). The Housewares and Fans industry has achieved even greater degrees of product specialization, particularly in mainline products, since 1989. The industry has also been undergoing modernization and restructuring with emphasis on product innovation.

Historically, high import tariffs have allowed the entire Canadian electrical and electronics industry to develop within the domestic market. In the years following the 1981-1982 recession, however, predominantly larger companies made significant structural adjustments and production modifications. The entire Canadian electrical and electronic industry has been competitive in the manufacturing of certain specialized components. The North American Free Trade agreement will phase out tariffs on virtually all Canadian exports to Mexico and the United States over ten years, with a small number of specialty exports being phased out over fifteen years. Similarly, imports from Mexico and the United States are predicted to increase as Canada tariff reduction commences. These phase-out processes which began on January of 1994 are expected to develop an spatial exaggeration of regional concentration in Central Canada due to the effects of certain intra-provincial trade barriers, including government procurement policies, which have meant that production has

been widely dispersed. Currently, and ironically, these barriers have not been removed and consequently many small regional operations remain sheltered by provincial protectionist measures. This particular free trade policy, however, also liberalizes Mexico's investment policies, which produces opportunities for Canadian investors.

Employment within the Canadian Electronic Housewares and Fans plants also tends to be highly skewed (9). This industry has been a large employer of technical personnel in Canada who have traditionally been male. The low-skilled manufacturing jobs are where the majority of the female labour force is concentrated. The labour profile of this industry has not been static according to Statistics Canada (1993, 2nd ed, Women in the Workplace). Instead, its profile is shown to be 'shifting away from concentration in manufacturing towards the growth of research and development of houseware products requiring more technical specialists such as engineers and computer programmers. The Electrical and Electronic Manufacturers Association of Canada acknowledged in 1987, that "labour engaged in the manufacturing of Electronic Housewares and Fans has been the most likely target during the reorganization of the Canadian electronic and electrical industry" (10). The association also predicted that smaller Canadian firms solely engaged in Electronic Housewares and Fans production would be 'wiped out' and several multinationals would 'fly south' (11). Because of the high rate of business formation, workers in the

manufacturing of electrical parts tend not to be unionized and are therefore quite vulnerable to labour shifts (12). It is these labour shifts that I intend to examine within Metropolitan Toronto's Electronic Housewares and Fans industry.

4.2 Canadian Footwear Overview:

The footwear industry has been particularly damaged by import competition over the last decade. The Canadian Leather Footwear industry employs approximately 16,000 persons (13). Close to 65 per cent of this total workforce is female. This is an industry almost entirely confined to central Canada: about 60 per cent of the industry's labour force is located in Ontario and 37 per cent is in Quebec (14). Ontario employs a larger proportion of women than does the industry in Quebec. This can be explained by the fact that within Ontario, factories tend to be located in urban areas while in Quebec more firms are located in smaller rural communities where businesses are run by family and service their local rural market predominantly. Generally, this industry has performed well compared to other industries within the goods producing sector.

The industry began to decline slowly in the early seventies. As previously mentioned in chapter two, in 1977 the Canadian

federal government placed import quotas to protect the domestic market. In 1981, those import quotas were lifted which resulted in a large increase in imports and a significant decline in Canadian manufacturing. The import quotas on leather footwear were again reimposed and are now scheduled to be phased out. The Shoe Manufacturing Association of Canada has claimed to be instrumental in urging GATT representatives to sustain the current 22.8 per cent footwear tariff (15). According to SMAC president Nate Finklestein, 'We have held many meetings and lobbied hard with our trade negotiators to emphasize the industry's vulnerability, should further tariff cuts take place' (16). These tariffs have provided considerable protection from imports in the past and intend to slow down the penetration of Mexico's footwear infiltration over the next ten years. Currently, Mexico's footwear and leather industries employ approximately 600,000 workers who are employed by 7,000 companies producing 200 million pairs of leather footwear annually. The current labour rates in Mexico for unskilled labour is four dollars per day. The skilled labourer receives \$1.50 U.S. an hour which, solely on the basis of wage differentials between Canada and Mexico, makes Mexico a viable future competitor.

Presently however, the majority of the competition is from Newly Industrialized Countries, namely Brazil, Taiwan, South Korea, Italy, and more recently China. Taiwan and South Korea alone, account for approximately 55 per cent of all imported

footwear (17). In terms of competition regarding leather footwear, Italy is the third most important source of imports. Between 1980 and 1985 American imports to Canada declined from being the fourth most important source of footwear imports to the seventh (18). The incentive for freer trade in goods producing industries has always been to reorganize production in order to recognize economies of scale and thus increase export capabilities.

In 1988, there were few trade barriers preventing Canadian access to the United States market. However, increased exports did not follow initially through freer trade agreements; instead, early reports showed a steady decline in the footwear manufacturing industry (19). This report noted a trend in the decline of smaller firms as competition in the Canadian market from lower-wage countries increased. A closer examination illustrates that businesses impacted by increased competition were those engaged primarily in the production of high-end footwear. The results, for Metropolitan Toronto only, included the closure of approximately thirty small footwear plants since 1985; ten of these plants have closed down since 1993, with labour costs cited as a primary factor (20). But there have also been recent increases in market share for the footwear industry. Statistics Canada figures revealed that in 1990 footwear exports were on the rise, up 16.5 per cent from the corresponding period the year before. The increase has remained steady during the past three years. These figures

mask another trend which has occurred within the footwear industry. There has been a change in production from expensive high quality leather shoes to cheaper mass produced mechanized footwear constructed mainly from waterproof vinyl, rubber and plastic mouldings. Leather boots and safety footwear markets have also expanded recently and contribute to this change in production process. Not surprisingly, those switching production have been the larger firms. These occurrences are of importance when considering the total numbers of those displaced through these restructuring processes as well as different employment impacts which transpire for male and females within the industry. Within firms which contain larger numbers of total employees, restructuring production processes often leads to higher total numbers of displaced workers, and given that assembly lines within this particular industry are predominantly female, the unemployment figures are usually much higher for the female workers than the males.

4.3 Methodological Process:

The main goal throughout my Master of Arts program has been to generate a research question that required the opportunity to engage in face-to-face interaction with my research subject. The intention was to be able to convey local knowledge and experience as a fundamental means to

understanding the complexity of my chosen issue. The interview process was intended to solicit opinions and attitudes from each respondent's level of experience and expertise. I considered this aspect of my study crucial in order to be able to competently report on the personal perceptions of the General managers. I felt that the opinions of the General Managers were important because they expressed how these persons at the local level of scale perceived the impacts of global scale restructuring on their small business. More importantly, these interviews allowed the local knowledge and expertise concerning each of these small business's unique concerns and characteristics to be expressed, which eventually allowed for further insight into more possible reasons for the declining employment numbers within these businesses. While aggregated statistical information and trade related publications were paramount in the development of an understanding of these two industries, these aforementioned sources were found to present information on either a national and/or a provincial level and so they did not include the level of detail that I was attempting to obtain for my study. I felt that in order to gather the level of insight I needed, it was necessary to explore this research question at the ground level. I view this exercise, therefore, as an integral part of my research process. This 'personal and everyday knowledge is respected and valued' (20), and has provided for a more responsible type of knowledge to be acquired once these

qualitative responses were coupled with my quantitative data. This process has consisted of many stages leading to my findings. These strengths and weaknesses of these stages are worth acknowledging.

The first step was to determine which of the many vulnerable industries (based on Cohen, 1987; Harris and Cox, 1985) were comparable in terms of total employment size and then similar yet opposite in terms of percentages of male employees and female employees. Using Statistics Canada, Manufacturing Industries of Canada: National and Provincial Areas for 1987 and 1991, I was able to ascertain that the Leather Footwear Industry for Ontario (S.I.C., 8561) and the Electronic Parts and Component Industry for Ontario (S.I.C., 8536), have had and continued to have comparable employment totals although with opposite but similar male to female employee ratios.

The next step was to find two specific product sections under the Statistics Canada headings, that enabled me to develop two populations of plants in these specific industries located within the Metropolitan Toronto boundaries. Using the Scott's Directory Index it was possible to cross reference the Statistics Canada Standard Industrial Coding with Scott's coding system in order to decide on two industries which were comparable in size, gender breakdown, number of businesses located in Metropolitan Toronto, and the number of transnational corporations. Eventually, once these criteria were confirmed, the Women's Leather Footwear and the

Electronic Housewares and Fans were chosen as my two industries. The address and telephone number of each of the businesses located in Metropolitan Toronto were available through the Scott's Directory Index. Using this information, I was able to exclude specific businesses from my chosen industries, on the basis of their location outside of the Metropolitan Toronto boundaries. This is how I generated the initial populations of plants for my interviews.

Next, I needed to examine the causes of the business closures and job layoffs that had occurred in my two chosen industries. I initiated this search through the public information available at the Ministry of Labour. The most accurate available record of specific business closures is the Ontario Ministry of Labour's list of all layoffs involving 50 or more employees which is prepared by the Labour Adjustment Branch. This list includes three categories of layoffs: (1) layoffs resulting from actions that reduce operations, (2) layoffs resulting from partial closures, and (3) layoffs resulting from complete closures. The Ministry of Labour produces information in which the location of the layoffs is broken down by sub-headings that allowed the researcher to determine which plants in my chosen industries have been affected. The wealth of information made available by the Ministry of Labour, however, was largely inapplicable. After examining this information, it became apparent that my chosen businesses had not reported any changes to the Ministry of

Labour. I knew that there had been plant closures and layoffs from the detailed information available from the Scott's Directory Index which showed multiple changes inside both of these two industries between 1987 and 1992. It first appeared that these changes consisted mainly of business closures. By comparing the addresses and the total number of Women's Leather Footwear and Electronic Housewares and Fans businesses that were operating in 1987 to the number of these businesses recorded as operating in 1992, several relevant factors became more clear.

To begin, several of the business names and addresses in the 1987 Scott's Directory were no longer present in the 1992 Scott's Directory. Next, several of the businesses had changed names and addresses between 1987 and 1992. Finally, several new plant operations began between 1987 and 1992. None of this information was evident through the Ministry of Labour records. Several telephone inquiries led to an understanding that either the size of most of my chosen businesses was simply too small for the Ministry of Labour to keep on record, and/or that the employment changes within these businesses were too small to record, and/or that there had been no employment changes or closures in these businesses from 1987 to 1992 with the exception of one plant (Commander Electronics, 75 persons laid off).

The Ministry of Small Businesses of Ontario, formerly part of the Ministry of Trade and Technology, notified me that they

too were unable to keep records of those changes occurring within the smaller businesses. I also inquired at the Scott's Directory Head Office about possible explanations for the changes made to their directory between 1987 and 1992. I was told that sometimes businesses simply choose not to renew their membership and are therefore no longer listed in their directory. None of these responses were sufficient since it was not yet clear if the businesses no longer listed in Scott's were still functioning.

Finally, in one last attempt to go through officially recorded channels, I attempted to find out how many of the businesses that were no longer listed in the Scott's Directory had officially filed for bankruptcy. By contacting the Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Bankruptcy Department through a letter of inquiry, I received a response which resulted in the discovery that only one out of my possible sixteen plants no longer registered in the Scott's Directory had officially filed for bankruptcy (see Appendix B: Bankruptcy File). A discussion with a member of the Office of the Superintendent of Bankruptcy, however, informed me that many smaller plants close down without the need to file for bankruptcy by simply paying all bills and selling their establishments. In fact, to quote one of my interview respondents, "Ten years ago there were over one hundred shoe manufacturers and now there are around twenty. The majority simply went out of business quietly and creatively and left no

trace" (22).

The process continued with the need to telephone all the addresses (from both the 1987 and 1992 Scott's Directory) of the two industries, to find out through direct contact whether these plants were still in operation. The results of this enquiry led to the creation of two new directories which provided me with the most current record of existing plants (see Appendix B: New Directory). The results from the telephone enquiries were extremely productive. For example, I uncovered the fact that several mergers had occurred between the businesses listed in the 1987 Scott's Directory. Also, there had been several name changes but not changes in address between 1987 and 1992. Finally, there were still several plants from both industries which no longer had an operating telephone number. In order to determine the status of these remaining plants, it was necessary to take field trips out to their locations. I discovered that all of these plants were closed simply by driving out to the locations and observing the change of ownership and line of business. I now had two working directories which included both the existing and discontinued businesses inside Metropolitan Toronto. One of these directories was of plants engaged in Women's Leather Footwear production whose total number was fifteen. This was later changed to eighteen through industry contacts. The second directory consisted of businesses engaged in Electronic

Housewares and Fans production whose total number was twenty-one.

This was my actual survey population. Once attained, I contacted industry organizations and publications that I felt would be able to confirm or refute the accuracy of my population of plants engaged in the manufacturing of Women's Leather Footwear within Metropolitan Toronto. I began by contacting the Shoe Manufacturers Association of Canada (SMAC) who confirmed my population of plants. I even stated that I had businesses, which because of their size, had chosen not to register with SMAC. The second organization I contacted was the Electrical and Electronic Manufacturers Association. They provided a confirmation of the populations of plants specifically engaged in the manufacturing of Housewares and Fans within Metropolitan Toronto and informed me that several of these former manufacturing plants were now engaged only in administrative activities. The final organization used for confirmation was Statistics Canada. They reported collecting no information on individual businesses except to state that all footwear and electronic industries are recorded within their Business Register Master File. There were no names or addresses of businesses available from this file, however, and therefore, it would be impossible to discern how many of these businesses were located within my study area. Since I still had a lingering uncertainty over whether the population of my plants was indeed representative of each industry's actual

number of businesses located within Metropolitan Toronto, I made it a point during each of my interviews with the General Managers to inquire about the accuracy of my directory size. Their responses largely alleviated my concerns and in three instances, these general managers provided my directories with another small footwear business not already recorded. In order to get these interviews, however, it became necessary to make the initial contact. I submitted my survey questionnaire to the Carleton Ethics Committee and it was approved (see Appendix A: Ethics Committee).

4.4 The Survey Formulation:

The technique used in this part of the study was a survey questionnaire of the businesses that were listed on the two newly developed directories. There were several fundamental pieces of information needed from each plant representative in order for my interviews to reflect the goals of my research (see Appendix A: Questionnaire Format). This information was to be asked of both populations of plant General Managers so that I would then be able to compare the responses from each industry. The use of a formal pretest was not implemented however, three informal pretest interviews were conducted to determine whether the questionnaire format elicited responses that related to the surveys objectives. I felt at the time

that the questions were capable of evoking accurate responses. In hindsight however, in order to ensure accuracy, consistency and reliability throughout the interviewing process more care should have been given to general and theoretical social science concerns about my methodological approach. Specifically, a conceptual framework illustrating each questions objectives and possible responses would have helped. Also, I should have conducted a more thorough pretest that would have recorded the questionnaires initial responses.

4.5 The Interview Experience:

In order to commence the interviewing process, I first sent out my cover letter which explained who I was, and what my intentions as a graduate student from Carleton University were (see Appendix A: Cover Letter). This was followed up with a telephone call approximately one week later. My two revised directories allowed me to simply go down each of the lists and attempt to schedule appointments with each General Manager.

It is important to explain why I sought out the General Manager of these establishments. Firstly, in small businesses, there is usually no structured hierarchy of power formally in place. By checking with several colleagues who own small businesses, I concluded that 'General Manager' was the least offensive title to use, while still making contact with the

one person who could provide me with the necessary overview perspective concerning the plant's production changes, as well as the necessary personnel information.

The telephone conversations were done solely to schedule actual interview appointments. I wanted to go to his/her place of business for the actual interview as I anticipated gathering more detailed responses from a face-to-face dialogue. The response rate was outstanding. I had only seven refusals in total. This resulted in thirty-two successful interviews.

The structure of the interview was as follows:

1. Introduce yourself, and provide Informed Consent form. (see Appendix A: Consent Form)
2. Engage in conversation about business status and enquire if audio-taping would be possible.
3. Begin asking questions and record onto paper and/or tape recorder.
4. After interview, provide follow-up discussion of the importance of the study.

Each of the interviews lasted between one half hour and an hour to ensure that I received detailed responses.

The final follow-up portion of the interview became extremely important as it was here I gathered the more personal opinions from each of the respondents and often received information leads on the status of other small businesses that might or might not be in my directory or not. As I mentioned earlier,

it was through these face-to-face interviews that I increased my sample size for the footwear industry from fifteen to eighteen.

4.6 INTERVIEW RESPONSES VALUED IN QUANTITATIVE TERMS

Question One

Has your Firm experienced a closure in the past five years?

This question was concerned with actual plant closures experienced by the General Managers to determine if any mass layoffs had recently occurred. The findings show that 29 per cent of those interviewed in the Footwear industry experienced an actual plant closure during the past five years, while in the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry, 50 per cent of those businesses interviewed had experienced a plant closure. From those nine businesses engaged in Electronic Housewares and Fans production which experienced a closure, three have since merged with other companies, and five have either moved their production plants or closed one section of their plant. All nine of these businesses are still engaged in Electronic Housewares and Fans activity though several of these businesses now function as head offices not production plants. This is significant because the four Footwear businesses that reported closures are no longer engaged in production; instead are engaged in the importation and retailing of footwear.

TABLE ONE

**BUSINESSES EXPERIENCING A PLANT CLOSURE BETWEEN 1987 AND 1992
RESPONSES OF GENERAL MANAGERS**

	YES		NO	
	%	n	%	n
Women's Leather Footwear	29	4	71	9
Electronic Housewares and Fans	50	9	50	9
TOTAL		13		18

Question Two

Has your firm experienced any layoffs in the past five years?

This question was asked to determine whether those industries that had or had not experienced a plant closure had conducted employee layoffs over the past five years. The Footwear industry responses demonstrate that 100 per cent of those surveyed had experienced layoffs, while 67 per cent of the Electric Housewares and Fans industry respondents actually experienced layoffs over the past five years. These responses indicate significant changes to the labour force within both industries over the past five years and are illustrated in table two below.

TABLE TWO

BUSINESSES EXPERIENCING EMPLOYMENT LAYOFFS BETWEEN 1987 AND 1992

RESPONSES OF GENERAL MANAGERS

	YES		NO	
	%	n	%	n
Women's Leather Footwear	100	14	0	0
Electronic Housewares and Fans	67	12	29	6
TOTAL		26		6

Question Three

Total number of male/female employees laid off in your industry?

Here, I was attempting to ascertain what the gender was of those persons who had been laid off in order to identify whether one gender had been impacted by layoffs more than the other. The responses were given in the form of an approximate number of those employees that were laid off and then a ratio of the male employees to female employees who were laid off was provided. This information allowed for a breakdown of males to females facing layoffs and thus showed which gender had experienced more total layoffs in either industry as well as the total number of male and female employees experiencing layoffs.

Table Three shows that in each of the industries, it has been females who have experienced more total layoffs over the past five years. Specifically, in the Footwear industry, Table Three illustrates that 71 per cent or ten of the actual plant general manager's surveyed reported laying off more female employees than males and that only 22 per cent or three of the general managers reported laying off more males than females. These percentages are also translated into total number of layoffs from each gender as well as the total number of males and females laid off between 1987-1992. This table illustrates clearly that a breakdown in both actual plant numbers and actual numbers of persons laid off shows females employees

experiencing a higher number of layoffs.

In the Electric Housewares and Fans responses, 50 per cent of those businesses interviewed had laid off more female employees than males and that 33 per cent of the respondents stated that they had laid off more males between 1987 and 1992. The table also shows that although only half of the general managers interviewed reported laying off more females than males, in actual numbers over five hundred more female employees were displaced during this time. The results on this table also show that there were many more layoffs experienced within the electronic housewares and fans industry than within the footwear industry even though there were less actual electronic plants than footwear plants experiencing layoffs. This is because the actual employment sizes for most of these electronics plants experiencing layoffs was much larger than any of the footwear plants which experienced layoffs. It is also clearly shown in table three that within the one plant which experienced more male layoffs than female layoffs, the actual number of total persons laid off was twenty-eight. Similarly, in the category of equal male to female layoffs the actual number of total layoffs was only ten. So it is apparent from this table that female employees have experienced more layoffs than male employees. This table also illustrates approximately how many persons have been laid off between 1987-1992 and the gender breakdown for all of these plants within both industries.

TABLE THREE

GENDER BREAKDOWN OF THOSE PLANTS EXPERIENCING LAYOFFS BETWEEN 1987 AND 1992 FOR WOMEN'S LEATHER FOOTWEAR AND ELECTRONIC HOUSEWARES AND FANS INDUSTRIES IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO

RESPONSES OF GENERAL MANAGERS:

WOMENS LEATHER FOOTWEAR BUSINESSES	MORE FEMALE LAYOFFS		MORE MALE LAYOFFS		EQUAL NUMBER OF MALE TO FEMALE LAYOFFS		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
PLANTS	71	10	7	1	22	3	100	14
NUMBER OF FEMALE EMPLOYEE LAYOFFS	59	502	39	11	50	5	N/A	518
NUMBER OF MALE EMPLOYEE LAYOFFS	41	342	61	17	50	5	N/A	364
TOTAL LAYOFFS	100	844	100	28	100	10	100	882
ELECTRONIC HOUSEWARES AND FANS BUSINESSES								
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
PLANTS	50	6	17	2	33	4	100	12
NUMBER OF FEMALE EMPLOYEE LAYOFFS	65	1506	33	112	50	110	N/A	1728
NUMBER OF MALE EMPLOYEE LAYOFFS	35	782	67	222	50	110	N/A	1114
TOTAL LAYOFFS	100	2288	100	334	100	220	100	2842

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FM-1 3 1/2" x 4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

In this particular analysis, the tables do not explicitly demonstrate the actual ratio's of male to female layoffs. It is therefore necessary to remark further on the average ratio for gender break down for each business's response. The average ratio was 40 per cent male to 60 per cent females. As with any average calculation, however, extremes are not readily apparent and require further discussion. Two noteworthy extremes were found in my data regarding the male to female ratios for businesses experiencing layoffs.

The first extreme occurs in Table three with a Footwear business which experienced over 400 total layoffs. In this case, 90 per cent of those experiencing layoffs in this business were females. The second anomaly occurs in a Electronic Housewares and Fans business which experienced 2000 total layoffs. In this case, 70 per cent of those experiencing layoffs in this business were females.

QUESTION FOUR

Could you name or describe the types of jobs from which people were laid off?

This question was asked to the respondents to determine where the all of the total layoffs in each business were occurring. The significance of these responses lies in the development of a correlation between female employees and assembly line

production labour. Table four shows that in both the Women's Leather Footwear industry and the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry, it has been the assembly line labour that has been predominantly laid off. The assembly line activity included stitching, gluing and machine operators within the Footwear plants and primarily product manufacturers within the Electronic Housewares and Fans plants.

The second part of table four illustrates that only a small percentage of management level employees have been laid off. The job description for these employees included a range of activities from sales, clerical, supervisory staff, even research related employees. Within the Electrical Housewares and Fans industry, there is a larger percentage of management level employees laid off than in the Women's Leather Footwear industry. This difference is due in part to the larger number of small local or non-transnational businesses that exist within the Women's Leather Footwear industry. Because of their smaller size, a less formal management structure was needed and in most cases the owner took on all middle management responsibilities like those listed above.

Another important factor influencing the greater number of management position layoffs in the Electrical Housewares and Fans industry was the existence of annual seasonal layoffs for administrative staff in several of these businesses.

TABLE FOUR

LAYOFFS ENGAGED IN ASSEMBLY LINE ACTIVITY OR MANAGEMENT LEVEL POSITIONS FOR WOMEN'S LEATHER FOOTWEAR AND ELECTRONIC HOUSEWARES AND FANS INDUSTRIES WITHIN METROPOLITAN TORONTO

RESPONSES OF GENERAL MANAGERS

	ASSEMBLY LINE POSITION %	MANAGEMENT LEVEL POSITION %
Women's Leather Footwear	86	14
Electronic Housewares and Fans	75	25
TOTAL	100	100

Question Five and Question Six

What was the total number of male/female employees whose hours were cut to part-time?

Could you name or describe the types of jobs which have been reduced from full-time to part-time hours?

These questions were asked in order to determine if there were any changes in labour activity from full-time to part time and if so, who were the employees affected by these changes. Table five illustrates that within the Women's Leather Footwear industry, three businesses had cut the hours of certain employees to part-time. This table does not show that the reductions in hours within these businesses impacted on the lives of approximately fifty-four females and thirty-one males. Another noteworthy detail was that within these cuts in employee hours all but one male worker (he was in sales), were engaged in assembly line production (99%). The

responses generated by the General Managers from both industries indicates that for these plants, a movement towards part-time hours was not a preferred tactic when attempting to reduce labour. This table also further demonstrates how vulnerable the assembly line employee is to changes concerning labour structures. There were no cuts to part-time status experienced by employees in the Electrical Housewares and Fans industry. Several noteworthy comments, However, can be made from the responses. Within this industry, one business changed its entire work schedule to a four day week temporarily. Two other businesses hired extra labour on a part-time basis during their busy seasons, and in both, it was additional assembly line workers who were employed.

TABLE FIVE

BUSINESSES WHICH HAVE CUT THEIR EMPLOYEE HOURS TO PART-TIME RESPONSES OF GENERAL MANAGERS

	REDUCTION TO PART-TIME HOUR		NO REDUCTION IN FULL-TIME HOURS	
	%	n	%	n
Women's Leather Footwear	21	3	79	11
Electronic Housewares and Fans	0	0	100	18
TOTAL		3		29

Question Seven

What are the main factors which have affected your industry's employment trends over the past five years?

The responses to this question are important to the essence

SUMMARY:

The quantitative analysis has served to answer the **what** question concerning the results of my survey findings. The use of tables and percentage responses has organized the gathered information and illustrates the data in its entirety. The synthesizing of the data in this form holds significance as it enabled me to observe commonalities and irregularities within the findings. The suggestion of certain trends within each of the tables can now lead into further discussion. I have viewed the use of this type of analysis as it presented my findings of each question in their aggregated form, thus allowing for an overview approach for my initial analysis. Throughout the quantitative section of this chapter, several relationships and anomalies have been highlighted and acknowledged. These relationships and anomalies require further in depth discussion if a more complete understanding of the research question is to be attempted. So, while the **what** questions concerning the findings of my survey have been attempted, it is now necessary to address the **why** questions concerning the trends in my results.

are more widely distributed with increased global competition being attributed to this industry's current employment trends over the past five years. The reasons for these responses vary. Factors mentioned included, a business's employee size, transnational status, labour costs, production processes, and type of industry. How these factors relate to the other interview responses is the focus of the second section of this chapter.

TABLE SIX

**FACTORS ATTRIBUTED
TO CURRENT EMPLOYMENT
TRENDS**

RESPONSES OF GENERAL MANAGERS

	WOMENS LEATHER FOOTWEAR	ELECTRONIC HOUSWARES AND FANS
	%	%
HIGH LABOUR COSTS	64	12
INCREASED GLOBAL MARKET ACCESS COMPETITION	36	41
ECONOMIC CYCLES, SEASONAL, RECESSIONS	14	35
BUSINESS TAXES, RETAIL TAXES, PROPERTY TAXES	7	12
NICHE MARKET DEVELOPMENT	0	35
UNCOMPETITIVE PRODUCTION PROCESSES	0	29

Question eight

Could you estimate what proportion of your female labour force are comprised of white immigrants?

PROMPT: These women maybe English speaking or Non-English

speaking whom have immigrated to Canada, that are White.

This question serves to examine whether or not there were any relationships between ethnicity, gender, and type of labour performed within these two industries. The wording of this question is quite specific in order to differentiate between White Female immigrants and Non-White Female immigrants. The respondents for the Women's Leather Footwear industry indicated that their businesses contained a large percentage of European immigrants engaged solely in assembly line production. Table seven illustrates a significant relationship between this industry's activities and the employment of White Female immigrants. A detail which is not depicted in this table is that four of the surveyed respondents reported a labour force comprised of 100 per cent White Female immigrants. Another business reported a labour force made up of three White Male immigrants with no female employees. This particular business was a family run operation.

Within the Electrical Housewares and Fans industry, the percentage of White Female immigrant employees was significantly less. Table seven shows that 41 per cent of the respondents reported having less than 33 per cent of their labour force comprised of White Female immigrants and none of the respondents contained a labour force comprised of more than 66 per cent White Female immigrants.

TABLE SEVEN

BUSINESSES CONTAINING A PERCENTAGE OF WHITE FEMALE IMMIGRANTS
AS EMPLOYEES

RESPONSES FROM GENERAL MANAGERS

WHITE FEMALE IMMIGRANT
EMPLOYEES WHO COMPRISED
A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
FEMALE EMPLOYEES

	WOMENS LEATHER FOOTWEAR		ELECTRONIC HOUSEWARES AND FANS	
	%	n	%	n
33 PER CENT OR LESS	39	5	41	7
34 PER CENT - 66 PER CENT	22	3	6	1
67 PER CENT - 100 PER CENT	39	5	0	0

Question Nine

Could you estimate what proportion of your female labour force is comprised of visible minorities?

PROMPT: These women maybe immigrants and/or non-immigrants, who may or may not speak English, but who are non-white

This question is related closely to question eight as it sought to find out the percentage of employees who are Non-White Female immigrant employees. The wording of this question was also quite specific in order to differentiate between question eight's intentions.

The responses the Women's Leather Footwear industry indicate that Visible Minority Females play a large role in their production process. Another noteworthy observation was that five of the businesses interviewed contained no Visible Minority Females. Even with this added information, this industry employs a large percentage of Visible Minority

Females, as table eight illustrates with 50 per cent of the responses reporting that Visible Minority Females comprise between 67 per cent and 100 per cent of their labour force.

The Electrical Housewares and Fans industry's findings show that Visible Minority Females comprise less of their total labour force. But, again, there are several significant details that are not shown in table eight. One key feature hidden amongst the aggregated data is that one of these businesses which had its manufacturing operations located in Metropolitan Toronto employed over 90 per cent Visible Minority Females and had a total labour force of approximately 1000 employees. Nevertheless, both industries suggest a relationship between ethnicity, gender, and type of production as all these employees mentioned in both question eight and question nine are engaged in assembly line production.

TABLE EIGHT

BUSINESSES WHICH CONTAIN A PERCENTAGE OF VISIBLE MINORITY FEMALES AS EMPLOYEES

RESPONSES FROM GENERAL MANAGERS

VISIBLE MINORITY FEMALE EMPLOYEES WHO COMPRISED A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL FEMALE EMPLOYEES	WOMEN'S LEATHER FOOTWEAR		ELECTRONIC HOUSEWARES AND FANS	
	%	n	%	n
33 PER CENT OR LESS	25	2	29	5
34 PER CENT - 66 PER CENT	25	2	18	3
67 PER CENT - 100 PER CENT	50	4	18	3

SUMMARY:

The quantitative analysis has served to answer the **what** question concerning the results of my survey findings. The use of tables and percentage responses has organized the gathered information and illustrates the data in its entirety. The synthesizing of the data in this form holds significance as it enabled me to observe commonalities and irregularities within the findings. The suggestion of certain trends within each of the tables can now lead into further discussion. I have viewed the use of this type of analysis as it presented my findings of each question in their aggregated form, thus allowing for an overview approach for my initial analysis. Throughout the quantitative section of this chapter, several relationships and anomalies have been highlighted and acknowledged. These relationships and anomalies require further in depth discussion if a more complete understanding of the research question is to be attempted. So, while the **what** questions concerning the findings of my survey have been attempted, it is now necessary to address the **why** questions concerning the trends in my results.

SECTION TWO

THE METHODOLOGICAL PROCESS

Introduction:

This second section of analysis seeks to provide explanations for possible connections and irregularities identified through the quantitative evaluation of the data. The objective of the rest of this chapter then, is to attempt to fill in the many gaps of knowledge an overview approach to the data. While quantitative analysis has been important, it is only when the results are scrutinized in further detail against the larger picture that a fuller elaboration of my research question becomes possible. These details include: the suggestion of connections between gender and layoffs, gender and low-skilled employment; ethnicity and low-skilled employment; the role that transnational status plays in each industry; the size of businesses and employment trends; the significance of industry and niche market activity. These connections will all be explored in this section of the paper.

4.7 Discussion of Qualitative Data:

Within the quantitative analysis, several anomalies are significant in attempting to determine the importance of the accumulated local knowledge and experience that has been collected through my interview responses. These details will now be discussed qualitatively as they pertain to this research problem.

The first feature that will be considered is the unique behaviour of transnational businesses compared to indigenous businesses. Among the Women's Footwear General Managers who were interviewed, only two Transnational Corporations existed. Significantly, neither of these corporations manufacture within Metropolitan Toronto any longer. Both of these footwear producers now manufacture out of the Far East (China) and in Mexico's Maquiladoras region. Another similarity between these particular transnational corporations was that both the Metropolitan Toronto locations were now functioning only as administrative head offices or as an administrative branch to a Head Office located in the United States. These two companies cited the movement towards cheaper manufacturing locations as being related to directional and strategic changes which occurred several years ago while these businesses were preparing for further globalization. This change in business activity from manufacturing to administration supports the larger changes of function occurring in Toronto (23), transforming it from an industrial

heartland to an international centre for finance and administrative activity.

Within the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry, seven of the eighteen General Managers interviewed identified their operations as Transnational Corporations. Three of these corporations have relocated their manufacturing activity recently, 'south' towards the United States and/or Mexico's Maquiladoras. At present, these businesses remain in Metropolitan Toronto as they, too, function as Head Offices or distribution centres to Canadian markets. The last four transnational corporations in Metropolitan Toronto are still engaged in manufacturing production, but with several common modifications worth discussing.

The first of these took place within the production process itself. One interviewee explained that, 'now my labour is so much more flexible and they have to be as we have become more automated. This we did because we cannot compete with south of the border wage rates' (24). These manufacturing employees are now expected to perform a multitude of production tasks in order to respond more quickly to changing product demands of the North American consumer. As this change has occurred, the total number of employees has decreased in each of these businesses while the productivity of a single employee has increased.

Another company General Manager recently transferred from the United States Head office stated that, 'when I came on board

six months ago from the U.S. parent firm, I couldn't believe the gross inefficiencies that were taking place in this office and people were getting away with it' (25). This sentiment pertained to quality control and product distribution. The response from this General Manager was to restructure the entire plant so that it focused on fewer product lines and emphasized quality. This restructuring strategy has been implemented by several of the other transnational corporations as 'global competition has forced us to become leaner and meaner'. Another one of these transnational corporations, which at one time produced a wide range of products in a variety of different areas, has now developed a niche market focus. They now specialize in medical equipment and compact discs. This company, along with several others, is concentrating only on what they are proficient in. The strategy changes within these transnational corporations have had further impact on the total employment figures within these companies. For example, one transnational corporation, 'has reduced its labour force from 3000 employees to under 1000. I would say that two-thirds of these workers were female assembly workers, I mean that they would learn a repetitive task and then do it, and one-third were male administrative management' (26). The behaviour of this transnational corporation within Metropolitan Toronto in 1994, is typical according to Norcliffe, Goldrick, and Muszynski (1986). Their paper on deindustrialization in Metropolitan Toronto clearly

defines this type of industrial behaviour and classifies it by explaining that,

'Capital Mobility, Corporate Restructuring, and Rationalization is the third broad category of plant closures'... 'is primarily attributable to the dynamics of capital restructuring. This process has a special significance in this particular study as Free Trade agreements which have been both ratified and the agreements still pending approval, carry huge incentives for labour-intensive manufacturing plants in the form of cheaper labour, environmental standards, tax benefits, climate, etc. This process manifests itself in many ways...in some cases it is leading to the decentralization of plants to the urban fringe or to surrounding non-metropolitan and even remoter rural and peripheral areas (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; Norcliffe, 1984; Scott, 1982), while in other instances production is being shifted between countries as liberal trade policies become globalized and a new international division of labour is created (Cameron, 1985; Frobel, Heinrichs, and Kreye, 1980; Norcliffe, 1985). The essential motive for plant closures in this instance is the drive for greater profits.

In an era when barriers to trade and capital mobility are essentially removed through free trade policies corporations may choose a branch plant location among several different countries [United States and Mexico]. Given that technology and capital inputs will be approximately the same whichever location is chosen, then labour is the key factor influencing profitability. Plants are therefore attracted to locations where labour productivity is high, wages are low, and the political climate and tax incentives are favourable. Part of this process, according to Holmes (1983), is quite often a conscious attempt to escape or avoid trade unions...'

(p.425)

The responses of several General Managers from transnational corporations from within Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector clearly illustrate and further support this 'capital mobility and corporate restructuring' classification as an explanation of transnational corporation's behaviour in both the Women's footwear industry and the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry.

It must also be reported that within all of these TNCs,

definite employment trends along gender lines were found to exist. It has undoubtedly been the case that women were impacted on significantly more than men by indefinite layoffs as businesses have downsized their production processes. The most vulnerable position is that of the assembly line worker. These people have been laid off in large numbers. The trend between gender and these vulnerable job positions within these industries is explicit inside the thirty-two Metropolitan Toronto businesses that I investigated. More significant was the finding that this correlation occurred within both the male dominated industry and the female dominated industry.

Another important feature was the relationship between the size of the business and the degree to which the General Managers attributed recent employment declines to uncompetitive production processes and high labour costs. The footwear industry, for example, contained a significantly higher number of smaller sized businesses. Exactly seven of the businesses I interviewed contained less than twenty-five employees. Only five businesses contained between twenty-six and one hundred employees, and only two businesses (the TNCs), contained a labour force of over one hundred employees after layoffs. The size of the business becomes an important factor in explaining the attitudes and opinions of the General Managers about the factors affecting their business's current employment trends.

A detailed comparison of the responses to question seven vis-

a-vis the size of the Women's Footwear businesses revealed that four of the smaller businesses attributed their current employment trends to high labour costs. The remaining smaller businesses attributed current employment trends to the recession and to global competitive increase (see Table fifteen). The medium sized businesses attributed their employment trends to high labour costs and a decline in market demand for their product. Another commonality was that all but two of them produced or still produce, high-end leather footwear for women. The two larger businesses attributed their current employment trends to high labour costs and increased global competition inside the footwear industry internationally.

The findings for the electronics industry revealed a different relationship between size and explanatory factors. The smaller sized businesses overwhelmingly attributed their current employment trends to economic cycles. These businesses listed the recession and seasonal fluctuations as the predominant factors affecting their employment trends. These small businesses also regarded high labour costs as a contributing factor. One small business attributed uncompetitive production processes as a factor contributing to current employment trends. Interestingly, this particular small business was also part of a transnational corporation. These responses are significant when they are compared with those of the larger sized Electronic Housewares and Fans

businesses which were predominantly part of transnational corporations.

These larger businesses cited their former uncompetitive production processes and their own striving towards niche market development as being the main factors currently affecting employment trends within their individual organizations. The different perceptions of the specific factors contributing to each business's current employment trends may reflect the different disadvantages that particular small businesses face when attempting to acknowledge and restructure their production processes. These disadvantages for particular small business activities are outlined clearly in Britton's 1993 article, "A Regional Industrial Perspective On Canada Under Free Trade". This paper explains the specific costs and disadvantages that are faced by certain small scale businesses when they are placed into the increased competition equation. While increased global competition was clearly intended to encourage manufacturers to be innovative, Britton notes that small businesses engaged in particular industries are at a distinct disadvantage when innovation strategies include the internationalization of production. This particular innovation technique constitutes the relocation of production to semi-industrialized countries in order to take advantage of lower wages (27). The inability of many of the smaller sized businesses in both of these industries to adapt to increased competition is further suggested through an

examination of plant closures between 1987 and 1992. The particular findings concerning plant closures supports the verbatim responses made by the smaller indigenous businesses regarding the crucial role that labour costs are playing in their survival. This focus on labour costs, however, must be seen in the wider context. Labour costs may be a way of avoiding other marked weaknesses such as design, marketing strategies, technological upgrading etc., that result from the larger obstacle; the lack of capital to change these marked weaknesses.

Between December 1985 and August 1991, SMAC reported that forty-four footwear businesses have closed., affecting approximately 5,970 jobs across Canada. Their list, however, does not include the names of smaller businesses which have closed down in this period. By adding the SMAC list of closures to my independently generated list, approximately thirty small footwear businesses in Metropolitan Toronto alone have closed down between 1985 and 1992. This six year period has seen the highest rate of footwear business closures in recent history. Within Metropolitan Toronto's Electronic Housewares and Fans industry, five businesses have closed down between 1987 and 1992. This difference in the number of actual business closures suggests other factors are strongly affecting each industry's competitiveness in the face of global restructuring.

One factor which is prevalent inside the Electronic

Housewares and Fans industry today seems to be the ability to develop a niche market for one's business. Several examples of this phenomenon were provided in the course of my interviews. For example, one small business produced only sauna heaters largely for the Finnish consumer. Another example was a business engaged in the production of washroom components. This small business services a mostly U.S. market and has employment figures which have remained unchanged throughout the past five years. Finally, there were two small sized businesses which produced only localized heaters. Though these two businesses attributed some of their employment changes to the recession and having always laid off employees during the slow season (summer), their employment trends can be considered to have remained steady over the past five years.

The existence of niche market development appeared to be prevalent throughout the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry, which may explain the relatively moderate impact that global restructuring has had on actual plant closures. This conclusion is reached through comparisons with developments occurring inside the Women's Leather footwear industry, and specifically the lack of niche market opportunities.

Only two industries produce for a specialized market: one produces only orthopaedic shoes and its General Manager cited the recession as the key factor impacting his current employment trends. This owner stated, 'The recession has

affected us greatly more than anything. Because we are a specialty shoe manufacturing business and our product is high quality and therefore expensive, the last three years have shown us that people are holding onto their money and simply making do with what they have.' The remaining specialty footwear producer manufactured safety equipment and no longer operated in Canada. This transnational corporation had relocated to the Mexican Maquiladoras.

The impact that labour cost differences within the global market have had, particularly on small local or non-transnational footwear businesses, is evident in the degree to which these manufacturers attribute the current employment trends to these labour cost differentials. One General Manager of a Footwear company which has closed down since my interview in January 1994 stated,

'High labour costs is the main factor. We are competing with countries where the annual per capita income is somewhere between 2 and 500 dollars a year. Whereas here we are competing with persons whose annual income is around 25 000 dollars a year. Our people are generally more efficient but the labour pay differentials are too large. It's a factor of free trade which is part of globalization because it is a trend that has been ongoing for the past 5 to 7 years.'

The small businesses engaged in the production of Women's Leather Footwear appear to demonstrate, through their responses, that high labour cost is the main factor impacting on their current employment trends. This perception, held by these General Managers reflects the main disadvantage that small businesses have when attempting to respond to increased competition. As Britton (1993) states, 'orthodox economic

views suggest that increased competition will induce firms to be innovative'. The contention in his paper is that many of these indigenous small and medium sized firms cannot innovate on their own. They require supplementary industrial policies if innovation is to occur. The General Managers of the small businesses that I interviewed appeared to support Britton's contention regarding the inability to innovate on their own. These small businesses lack the financial means necessary to allow them to increase or switch their production to levels which could take advantage of economies of scale or niche markets.

Another unique characteristic of the Women's Leather Footwear industry is that the production of high-end and/or casual footwear is still a highly labour intensive activity. The craftsmanship and detail that has traditionally been associated with this type of footwear cannot yet be duplicated through automation. In addition, there has also been a decline in the global market for high-end footwear over the past five years (SMAC, 1990), as consumers turn towards more casual all-purpose footwear. Women's Casual Footwear is less expensive and more functional. Traditionally the market for casual footwear has been supplied largely by overseas producers and by Canadian businesses located outside of Metropolitan Toronto. Victoria Curran, editor of the Footwear Forum, a trade publication, stated that, 'the biggest players in Canadian footwear manufacturing are in Ontario but not in

Toronto. London, Perth, Kitchener, Batawa, and Hamilton are where the largest and oldest manufacturing plants are now located'. These manufacturers also are all part of transnational corporations. Curran cites high property taxes and high labour costs as the key reasons that these companies have located away from the Metropolitan Toronto area.

Finally, subtle suggestions of a relationship between ethnicity and type of production occurred during my interviews. For example, within the footwear industry, there was a definite relationship between high-end footwear production and the number of white European and South American immigrant females employees. These women were from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Poland, Armenia, and Russia. This relationship was discussed openly by the General Managers stating that, 'Almost all the professional shoe labour is immigrant because they know how to make these shoes...most of these women have had experience.' It was suggested that the production of high-end footwear contained cultural influences and expertise which these female employees had mastered in their countries of origin. Another characteristic of these high-end businesses was the existence of pockets of specific ethnic groups inside these businesses. For example, several General Managers stated that their entire workforce was from Italy or Portugal, which may illustrate the hiring of workers through outside informal word of mouth contacts or networks.

Similarly, there was a relationship between the number of

visible minority females employed and the production of casual and/or low-end footwear. This relationship was carried over into the electronic industry where the majority of female employees were visible minorities. These women are predominantly from Vietnam, Philippines, India, China, and Guyana. There are several possible explanations.

One is economic, since as language barriers may occur, the choice of employment becomes extremely limited. Employment may be obtained through informal associations similar to those of the European immigrants. While these jobs require little formal training and interaction with the English speaking public, they could provide pigeon-hole types of employment for new non-English speaking immigrants. These are low-skilled, low paying jobs with little or no vertical movement within a business. Another economic reality is that the size of some of these small to medium businesses prevent union activity which creates a potentially susceptible work force. On the other side are the employers who have cited high labour costs as their main concern. It could also be surmised that these women, both European and visible minority, are willing to be paid less than other Canadian-born groups inside the Canadian labour force. A second consideration for these trends might be the community demographic make-up surrounding the geographic locations of these businesses. For example, several of these small businesses are located within predominantly homogeneous outlying industrial parks consisting of mostly Europeans, or

in other instances, mostly Asian populations.

A final possible explanation for the relation between production specialties and labour force make-up might be connected with the fact that Asia contains a global concentration of low-end footwear and electronic components manufacturers. These immigrants could therefore have already engaged in this line of work under similar assembly line conditions prior to immigrating to Canada, thus gaining the necessary experience and making them more employable.

Summary:

These suppositions explore the possible connections between labour force behaviour and TNCs, business size, area of product specialization, gender, and ethnicity, that have been elucidated from the qualitative data. The possible reasons for these connections observed in these two manufacturing industries are limited in their geographic scope to Metropolitan Toronto. these observations, however, allow for the possibility of further exploration of the relationship between these findings and the global labour market.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions:

Marjorie Cohen predicted in 1986, that certain industries, particularly those that are major employers of women, would experience serious production and job losses. Cohen further stated that even within those industries which do manage to find a proper 'niche' in international trade, the focus will be on shifting production away from those areas within the industry where women work. These predictions reflect a feminist perspective towards the Canadian economy. Cohen is criticising the ideological imperative currently associated with international corporations. This ideological package upholds the assumption that economic policies which are designed to improve business competitiveness, eventually better everyone (1).

The purpose of this study was twofold: to provide an empirical investigation of Marjorie Cohen's assertions and to suggest our economic perspectives acknowledge that both halves

of the Canadian labour force are impacted on differently by current changes.

In attempting to explore possible connections that exist between gender and job loss within the Electronic Housewares and Women's Leather Footwear industries in order to provide explanation for the high female labour displacement, several connections were discovered. As this investigation has attempted to demonstrate, the impacts from recent economic policies associated with the global restructuring on two particular industries, have consistently displaced more female than male employees. This case study indicates that ' global restructuring processes' impact men and women differently. Firstly, almost all of the female labour that has been displaced over the past five years within these two industries in Metropolitan Toronto was engaged in assembly line, labour intensive activities. As well, these assembly lines prior to 1987 employed mainly female labour. In addition, the assembly line production activities have been where the General Managers of my study engaged in restructuring tactics. The result has been a movement away from production activities within these two manufacturing industries in an attempt to become competitive within the global market. Consequently, this has resulted in a reduction in the kind of work where women have traditionally been employed.

This study had two objectives. The first objective was to discover what factors have contributed to the decline in

employment within the Women's Leather Footwear industry and the Electronic Housewares and Fans industry in Metropolitan Toronto between 1987 and 1992. This question has led to the conclusion that there were a myriad of intertwining factors impacting the employment trends of these two industries. The degree of influence that each of these factors has had on industry specific employment trends is related to the different levels of geographic scale that I have used to explore this question.

On the global scale, international deregulation tactics combined with national market liberalism strategies, have exposed a structural asymmetry between the global supply and demand for labour. This asymmetry is fundamentally grounded in global demography and North/South development contrasts. It is demonstrated here by the disparity between international minimum wage levels in the global community. The disparity reflects development contrasts between economies of the North and economies of the South and depicts a basic axiom of economics: if the price of something rises, demand for it will fall. If the price is held above market levels, supply will exceed demand. In the labour market, this surplus is referred to as 'unemployment'. There is also an asymmetry which exists within global demography. The 'South' contains large pools of low-skilled and low-paid labour, whereas the 'North' consists of minimum wage standards far exceeding those of the 'South' (specifically, the Canadian minimum wage levels for low-

skilled workers within the manufacturing sector are not competitive within the international labour market). Even though productivity is often higher in Canada, many transnational and indigenous businesses would rather invest in relocation and/or flexibility strategies than employ Canadian labour. Consequently, the future of this labour in Canada appears grim. For instance, efforts to secure pay equity and employment equity in Canada exist, however, this labour pool will not be affected for two reasons. First, many of the positions held by this labour are also held only by women and therefore gender comparisons in wage earnings based on equal pay for equal value are not applicable. As evidence, the two industries that I explored had minimum wage as the standard, with pay scale rising based only on length of employment with the specific plant. Unionized plants, such as those found within the transnational plants of my case study contained workers who received higher wages in both industries. These wages ranged from \$12.00 to \$15.00 Can. The second reason efforts to secure pay equity and employment equity are ineffective is the internationalizing of labour. Disparities between international wage levels are influencing many labour intensive industries to migrate towards cheaper labour pools. This may even result in a downward movement of Canadian wages in order for Canadian labour to compete. Any harmonization policies of this nature could impact Canadian manufacturing labour pools negatively. This supposition can be perceived as

an immediate threat based on the responses from some of the General Managers I interviewed.

There are other restructuring strategies currently in practice which are more subtle and yet equally negative to Canadian labour engaged in manufacturing. Flexibility in production is one of these approaches.

Flexibility strategies occur in three forms: (1) financial - mainly cost-cutting by slimming down the workforce; (2) functional -making more efficient use of permanent full-time employees through quality control, continuous production; and (3) numerical flexibility -closer tailoring of the size of the workforce using part-time, contractual, and temporary personnel. The aim of these strategies is to control labour costs and thus increase efficiency. The implication of these strategies has been high unemployment for Canada.

On a local and/or sectoral scale, the impact of these factors appear more acute. For example, the two manufacturing industries examined in this study are both labour intensive, and as a result, illustrate the large number of permanent job losses and plant closures that can be directly attributed to high labour costs. At this local level however, there were also other factors which have been at least equally influential in changing these industries' employment trends. For example, the high-end footwear industry has been facing a decline in the global market. Changing consumer demands have left several of these businesses

struggling to survive. Within the Electronics industry, other localized factors are attributable to their specific employment trends. Several businesses have cited the role of seasonal fluctuations in consumer demand for their products as a factor that has always dramatically impacted their employment numbers. The fluctuations take place bi-annually as well as annually within these businesses. These cycles are simply a unique characteristic of a particular product's market demand. Overwhelmingly, however, both of these industries cited 'increased competition' and/or 'high labour costs' as the main factors explaining employment changes taking place at this local level.

The second objective explored which employees have been impacted by these layoffs and closures in both a male dominated industry and a female dominated industry. My findings clearly demonstrate that within these two particular manufacturing industries, it is female employees who are experiencing greater job losses. This finding was consistent in both the female dominated industry and the male dominated industry. The largest job losses occurred in 'assembly line production', which is where women have been employed. What are the connections between the internationalizing of labour costs and gender that need to be investigated?

Firstly, the 'economic restructuring processes' taking place within my two industries have contributed to transforming and relocating the labour intensive production processes. This

type of reorganizing may be interpreted as containing the characteristics of transition from 'fordist' production techniques towards features that resemble 'flexible' production techniques. Production processes once characterized by assembly lines employing large numbers of low skilled workers are being replaced by automated and/or flexible manufacturing systems employing fewer and more skilled workers (2). The interviewees provided evidence of this transition to more flexible production strategies. The individual experiences and level of expertise of the General Managers I interviewed have been important contributions to this study as they illustrate each key informant's perception of the factors impacting on current employment trends. Collectively, this decline in employment numbers was considered a response to the development of 'niche' markets, 'uncompetitive production processes', 'high labour costs', and 'increased competition through market access'. The interview subjects also observed that employers, whether consciously or unconsciously, advocate the role of women 'as the single most important supply of low-wage workers' (3), by taking advantage of a cheap labour force and creating large and small labour pools which have been particularly susceptible to market forces. The susceptibility of this labour force is depicted in the total numbers of unemployed. In the thirty-two interviews that were conducted, it was estimated that approximately 3 000 females and 1 400 males had lost their jobs as assembly line producers in the

Electronic Housewares and the Women's Footwear industries located within Metropolitan Toronto. While their total numbers are negligible when compared to the over all unemployment rates in Metropolitan Toronto, the two unemployed females for every male unemployed is significant and indicates that within these two particular industries, the shifting of their production processes away from assembly line activities has affected women more than men in terms of job loss.

The freer trade movement, incorporating specific trade alliances and deregulation tribunals is part of an ideological package. There is a tendency to view them as separate, but they are all part of a vast global restructuring which is providing greater capital mobility specifically to transnational corporations. This increased capital mobility has manifested itself within my two industries through the relocation of several transnational production plants towards Mexico's Maquiladoras region and/or the Pacific Rim. By moving assembly line activities from Metropolitan Toronto to the 'South', these transnational as a corporation are responding to 'an increase in competition from peripheral region producers where primary goods and labour are cheaper' (4).

For the transnational corporations, these employment changes appear to have been largely pro-active as many TNCs stated that they had relocated their production several years earlier in order to prepare for the pending affects of freer trade and deregulation policies. While the smaller business's employment

adjustments appear to have been re-active, because of their inability to innovate or relocate efficiently, they have dramatically decreased their employment numbers within the past five years. Table One below illustrates how the average percentage of layoffs of the smaller sized plants compare to those layoffs within the medium and large sized plants in my case study,

Women's Leather Footwear Plants located within Metropolitan Toronto and their plants sizes as they co-relate with the percentage of layoffs:

PLANT SIZE	AVERAGE NUMBER OF LAYOFFS BY PLANT SIZE	THE PERCENTAGE OF LAYOFFS BY PLANT SIZE
SMALL PLANT EMPLOYS AN AVERAGE OF 24 EMPLOYEES	13.5	56%
MEDIUM PLANT EMPLOYS AN AVERAGE OF 180 EMPLOYEES	74	41%
LARGE PLANT EMPLOYS AN AVERAGE OF 550 EMPLOYEES	275	50%

Electronic Housewares and Fans Plants located within Metropolitan Toronto and their plant sizes as they co-relate to the percentage of layoffs:

PLANT SIZE	AVERAGE NUMBER OF LAYOFFS BY PLANT SIZE	THE PERCENTAGE OF LAYOFFS BY PLANT SIZE
SMALL PLANT EMPLOYS AN AVERAGE OF 13 EMPLOYEES	7	54%
MEDIUM PLANT EMPLOYS AN AVERAGE OF 176 EMPLOYEES	75	42%

LARGE PLANT EMPLOYS AN AVERAGE OF 3000 EMPLOYEES	1000	33%
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Within these two manufacturing industries the female employees that have been impacted on the most through loss of employment. Though my collected data does not actually connect visible minority females with significant loss of employment, the high percentages of visible minority females employed in plants which have experienced large lay offs suggests that this particular group of females was more susceptible to loss of employment within these two particular industries. As these female employees comprise the lowest skill and lowest pay employees, they have also been the most vulnerable in the face of market liberalism policies. The impetus for examining both a male and a female dominated industry was to determine if Cohen's contention would be supported in specific 'vulnerable' manufacturing industries. By using only two industries inside a limited geographic scope, these findings, while supporting Cohen's predictions, provide extremely limited empirical evidence. Instead, this study is an instrument that can be used to explore broader connections between gender and the internationalization of labour. A key question is the role that gender plays in the composition of international work and employment practices. A question that needed to be asked in this case study concerns specific male/female hiring practices within the industries. Further probing was also necessary concerning the educational levels and skill demands of these

industries' specific assembly line activities. These questions would have helped to determine if these are acting as gender-correlates to maintain the employment position of women with these two industries. As the low paying visible minority female worker within Metropolitan Toronto's manufacturing sector is displaced through plant relocation, who is it that replaces her labour, and where is it being replaced? While this new international division of labour changes so does the spatial geographical location of production. Often economies of production scale and the production processes themselves become modified, but the gender of the assembly line workers within these two particular industries appears to remain the same.

The Guangdong province of China provides a typical illustration of this phenomenon. It is in this province that one of the original Special Economic Zones was established in 1979 to experiment with market reforms. The area specializes in garment manufacturing with approximately 2, 800 young female employees who make one hundred dollars per month, comprising the entire labour force of a factory. The average woman works for five or six years until she is twenty four and then returns home. According to Randall Litchfield, editor of Canadian Business Magazine, 'this is tomorrow's international manufacturing labour force' (5).

The visible minority female functions as a global symbol of the low skilled and low paid manufacturing labour pool

currently driving a new international division of labour. This phenomenon in the labour market necessitates further gendered exploration of the impacts that market liberalism policies, transnational status, and technologies are having on employment issues. Inadvertently, perhaps, gender has become an integral factor when attempting to provide explanations for certain labour force activity.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questionnaire:

1. Has your firm experienced a closure in the past five years?
2. Has your firm experienced any layoffs in the past five years?
3. Total number of male/female employees laid off in your industry?
4. Could you name or describe the types of jobs from which people were laid off?
PROMPT: Job Title? or List of responsibilities?
5. What was the total number of male/female employees whose hours were cut to part-time?
6. Could you name or describe the types of jobs which have been reduced from full-time to part-time hours?
7. What are the main factors which have affected your industry's employment trends over the past five years?
PROMPT: Factors such as free trade, mechanization, recession?
8. Could you estimate what proportion of your female employees are comprised of white immigrants?
PROMPT: These women maybe english speaking or non-english speaking whom have immigrated to Canada, that are white.
9. Could you estimate what proportion of your female labour force is comprised of visible minorities?
PROMPT: These women maybe immigrants and/or non-immigrants, who may or may not speak english, but who are non-white.

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RE: ARROW FOOTWEAR LTD

YOUR REFERENCE - VOTRE REFERENCE: SARAH PAYNE

INSOLVENCY SEARCH

A NAME SEARCH HAS BEEN MADE OF THE
PUBLIC RECORD KEPT BY THE
SUPERINTENDENT OF BANKRUPTCY FOR
ALL THE DISTRICTS AND DIVISIONS IN
CANADA.

THE PUBLIC RECORD WAS FOUND TO
CONTAIN NO FACTS NOR ANY REFERENCE
TO THE AFOREMENTIONED NAME FROM
1978 TO 1993/10/06

RECHERCHE D'INSOLVABILITE

UNE RECHERCHE DE NOM A ETE
EFFECTUEE AU REGISTRE PUBLICQUE DU
SURINTENDANT DES FAILLITES POUR
TOUS LES DISTRICTS ET DIVISIONS DU
CANADA.

LE REGISTRE PUBLICQUE NE REVELE
AUCUN FAIT NI REFERENCE AU NOM
SUSMENTIONNE DE 1978 JUSQU'AU
1993/10/06

Bureau du Surintendant des faillites
Office of the Superintendent of Bankruptcy

c

APPENDIX B

NEW DIRECTORIES

Electric House wares and Fans industries within Metropolitan Toronto:

HALCYON WATER BED AND WATERBED HEATERS 355 CHAMPAGNE DR. 636-7300 (NAME CHANGE AND MERGER WITH ANDICO MANUFACTURING)

CHARLESCRAFT CORPORATION LTD. BROCKHOUSE RD TORONTO ONT, M8W 2X1 255-8181

COMMANDER ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT 95 COMMANDER BLVD, SCARBOROUGH, ONT M1S 3S9, 291-8463 (PARTIAL CLOSURE 72 LAYOFFS)

CANADIAN TUBULAR ELEMENTS LTD. 920 ALNESS ST UNIT 15 DOWNSVIEW ONT, M3J 2H7, 667-0394

DANBEL INDUSTRIES 222 ISLINGTON AVE, ETOBICOKE, M8V 3W7, 252-9454

FLECK MANUFACTURING INC, 80 BROCK ST. EAST N4G 1Z9, 364-4573

BOBRICK WASHROOM EQUIPMENT, 85 PROGRESS AVE SCARBOROUGH M1P 2Y7 298-1611

VKANGAS SAUNA HEATERS PO BOX 396 STATION A WILLOWDALE ONT, M2N 5T1 222-7142

LENNOX INDUSTRIES CANADA LTD. 400 NORRIS GLEN RD ETOBICOKE ONT, M9C 1H5 621-9302

FINLANDIA UNIT 2, 115 BOWES CONCORD, L4K 1H7 738-4017 (MERGER OR TAKE OVER OF NEW LIFE SAUNAS)

NUTONE ELECTRICAL INC, 2 ST LAWRENCE AVE TORONTO M8Z 5T8 251-6587

PROCTER-SILEX, CANADA, INC. 10 MILNER BUSINESS CRT STE 600 SCARBOROUGH ONT M1B 3C6, 292-7699

PHILIPS ELECTRONICS LTD. 601 MILNER AVE SCARBOROUGH ONT, M1B 1M8 292-5161

SAMPO SAUNAS LTD 1413 KINGSTON RD SCARBOROUGH ONT, MIN 1R1. 691-2297

SEABREEZE ELECTRIC CORP 40 FIMA CRES TORONTO, ONT M8W 3P9 255-1191

STANDARD APPLIANCE MFG CO. LTD, 1542 THE QUEENSWAY TORONTO, ONT. M8Z 1T5 255-0161

STELPRO LIMITED 49 HOWDEN RD SCARBOROUGH M1R 3C9, 750-4120 (NEW LOCATION)

SUNBEAM CORP CANADA, 1040 ISLINGTON AVE. TORONTO M8Z 4R5, 236-2481

SWENSON CANADA INC. 80 ORFUS RD TORONTO M6A 1M1 787-4501

TELEDYNE STILL MAN. CANADA, 55 UNDERWRITERS RD SCARBOROUGH ONT, M1R
WILCORPS MANUFACTURING, 117 TYCOS DR TORONTO, 789-1164

Women's Leather Footwear industries located in Metropolitan Toronto:

ARKON SAFETY EQUIPMENT, 260 NUGGET AVE, SCARBOROUGH, 293-2172

BATA INDUSTRIES LTD, 59 WYNFORD DRIVE DON MILLS, 446-2011

CARLAW FOOTWEAR LTD, 235 CARLAW AVE, TORONTO, 465-5423

CELEBRITY SHOES LTD. 53 HYMUS RD, SCARBOROUGH, 751-8112

DIAMOND SHOE CO. 70 WINGOLD AVE TORONTO, 783-6115

GULDNER ORTHOPEDIC SHOES, BROADVIEW AVE TORONTO, 466-3611
(CLOSING DOWN DURING INTERVIEW)

JOHNSON BROS SHOES LTD, 815 BROADVIEW AVE TORONTO, 469-1346

LORI'S SHOES MANUFACTURING INC 99 RIVER STR. TORONTO, M5A 3P4 366-7046

LUXAN SHOE MFG, 5 DOHME AVE. TORONTO M4B 1Y7 755-6002 (NOW ONLY SUBCONTRACT PLANT)

MNK SHOE MANUFACTURING INC. 491 BRIMLEY RD. UNIT 19 SCARBOROUGH ONT. M1J 1A4 267-3715 (NEW PLANT)

OLYMPIA SHOES LTD 100 FLORAL PARKWAY, TORONTO M6L 2C5 243-0944
(CLOSED DOWN PLANT ONE WEEK AFTER INTERVIEW)

STAR VALENTI 9 DENSLEY AVE. TORONTO M6M 2P5 240-1540

SWING SHOE CORPORATION 23 JENET AVE TORONTO M6H 1R5 535-3330

TOPAZ SHOE MFG LTD. 126 TYCOS DR. TORONTO M6B 1W8 789-7447

MODELLA SHOE MFG. 139 TURBINE DRIVE, 746-2350

BELMODA SHOES INC. 119 DENSLEY AVE, 674-8541

MELLOWALK SHOE CO. 1177 FINCH AVE WEST, 736-4296

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