

Action

1993

Review of the Situation of Women in Canada

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on the Status of Women
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INTRODUCTION

The women's movement in 1993 is politically stronger than ever before. In the face of a resurgence of anti-feminism, women's groups have not only held their ground, but together constitute the clearest voice for social, political and economic justice in the country. This was visible in the front line role of women's groups — both national and grassroots — in the referendum debate on the Charlottetown Constitutional Accord. The women's movement today, is an impressive coalition of Aboriginal women, women of colour, labour feminists, lesbians, professional women, women with disabilities, poor women and other activists.

However, the situation of Canadian women is marked this year by a series of both blatantly obvious and cleverly camouflaged economic, social and ideological attacks which, piece by piece, undermine the everyday living conditions of the vast majority of women.

In spite of significant feminist victories, the goal of equality for all women is, in real terms, facing the most concrete and profound backlash of the post-World War II period. Social and economic policies are forcing women to do more work for less pay. Women's full time work is shrinking in favour of low-paying part-time jobs. Those women still working full time, are working harder to simply stay in their jobs and the majority earn less than \$20,000 a year. Poverty rates among single mothers are at record levels. In all, an increasing amount of unpaid and underpaid labour is expected of women, leading to longer workdays and growing health problems due to high stress levels.

Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that according to The 1993 United Nations Human Development Index, Canada's international ranking regarding its treatment of women fell even further to eleventh place, from eighth the year before.

This year's *Review of the Situation of Canadian Women* shows that women are not uniformly affected. Rather, the increasing class divisions in society as a whole are also evident between women. The privileges available to a Kim Campbell for example, are far removed from the daily reality of food banks, welfare lines and unemployment rolls that are the lot of growing numbers of women.

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The hidden truth of economic restructuring, Free Trade, and the recession is the inherent assumption that already disadvantaged women will quietly absorb the social costs of creating more profits for an increasingly powerful international corporate elite. In the 'brave new world' of the nineties where 'survival of the fittest' is openly espoused, the dismantling of social services for women contributes to this polarization of wealth and power.

Minister of Health and Welfare Benoit Bouchard said, in 1992, it gave him great pleasure to be the one to kill the national childcare program, announcing that childcare was now considered a last priority by his government. Not only has the promise of a national childcare system been abandoned, but there is no longer any pretence of universality in the government's agenda for social services. Unemployment Insurance is no longer available to all previously eligible Canadians. Medicare is being cut back, and the entire system of healthcare is undergoing a restructuring that will shift the burden of healthcare responsibilities to women in the home. Family allowances have been eliminated. There is no more money for co-operative housing. Women, poorer than other Canadians, bear the brunt of these policies.

The campaign for a return to "family values" is a thinly veiled drive to send women back into the white, heterosexist, male-centred, nuclear family home. Right wing commentators, media and politicians alike are co-opting the language of women's liberation to promote what amounts to an assault on both women's and lesbian and gay rights. The most recent funding cuts to the Secretary of State's Women's Program are a clear attempt to silence groups advocating for women and to prevent them from criticizing social policies that hurt women.

The insidious message of public anti-violence debates is that the streets are not safe, and women should stay home. Home, however, continues to be the site where women are most frequently shot, beaten, murdered and sexually abused. In spite of feminist campaigns to expose the reality that very few violent crimes against women are committed by strangers, media reportage continues to sensationalize cases that perpetuate this myth. Victorian notions of women's need to be protected by chivalrous men have seeped into the public discourse. Women's fight against sexist violence has always been aimed at empowering women to live, work and walk in the world as independent beings, not at frightening women into returning to dangerous, illusionary or archaic protections.

Economic and social pressures are bringing out the worst in our society. Women are increasingly confronted with racist violence, lesbian bashing, and violence against people with disAbilities. This is more than a merely random phenomenon. The policies of policy-makers in the creation of racist immigra-

tion laws, racist and misogynist attacks by elected officials against the leadership of women's organizations, cuts in support for disAbled women's groups all contribute to a hostile atmosphere which contributes to the scapegoating of already oppressed groups. In this poisoned environment, active groups of ultra-right elitists find support for their violent ideas and actions.

The fact that the women's movement is responding to this environment by engaging in the fight for social, economic and political equity for women of colour, lesbians, Aboriginal women, disAbled women, poor women and working women, and by pro-actively strengthening the voices of these constituencies of women within the ranks of our own organizations, is yet further testament to the capacity of feminism to be the pivotal force for fundamental social change our foremothers dreamed of.

Canadian women have, over the past two decades, established themselves as key contributors in the paid workforce. More than 45 percent of all workers in the country are now women, compared with 36 percent seventeen years ago. In April 1993, 57.5% of all women over the age of fifteen (6,274,000) were either officially employed or looking for jobs.¹

Women and Work

Contrary to persistent mythology, women work out of economic necessity. Many women are now heads of families. One out of every seven families are sole support families headed by women. In two parent families, women's earnings are critical in keeping families afloat. Mothers make up the largest portion of the growth in women's employment in the past decade. In 1991, 63% of women with children under age 16 worked, as compared to 50% in 1981. The National Council on Welfare's 1992 report states unequivocally that the contributions of working women are essential to the economic survival of their families.

The current recession is harsher than any other since World War Two. Much of it is caused by a long-term, deep restructuring of both the global and Canadian economies and by the effects of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

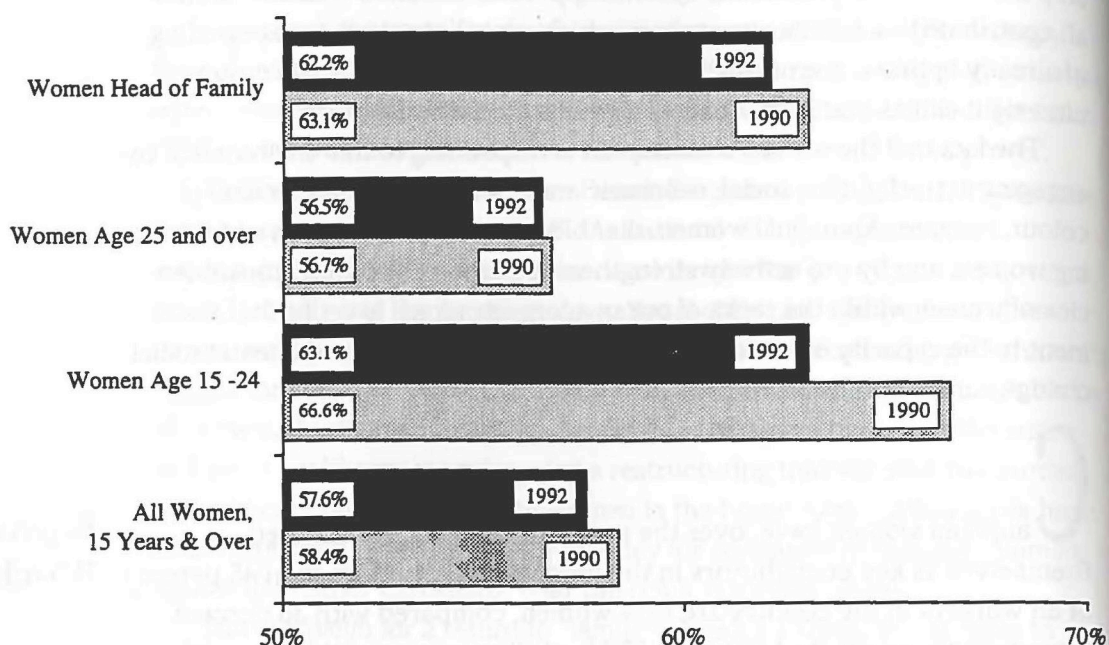
Many of the gains made by women since the sixties are in serious danger of being eroded. This is evident in the reversal of the long term trend of women entering the workforce in increasing numbers each year. For the first time in more than twenty five years, women's workforce participation rates dropped in both 1991 and 1992² and the decline is continuing into 1993. Whereas 58.4% of all women were in the workforce in 1990, the rate had dropped to 57.6% by the end of 1992. (See Figure 1)

It is particularly disturbing that young women who are just starting out in their quest for economic independence are dropping out of the labour force at the highest rates. Their participation rate went from

¹Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, April 1993

²Statistics Canada, *Historical Labour Force Statistics Cat. No. 71-201*

Figure 1: Participation Rate of Women in the Workforce, 1990, 1992



Source: Statistics
Canada Cat. 71-201
Historical Labour
Force Statistics

67.4% in 1989 to 63.1% in 1992. In this period of rising unemployment, younger, less experienced women are clearly demoralized by applying for jobs for which there are large numbers of more experienced candidates.

Although it is not yet possible to determine whether these declines in women's participation rates actually constitute a long term trend, they are nonetheless an important indication of the pressing economic difficulties women are facing.

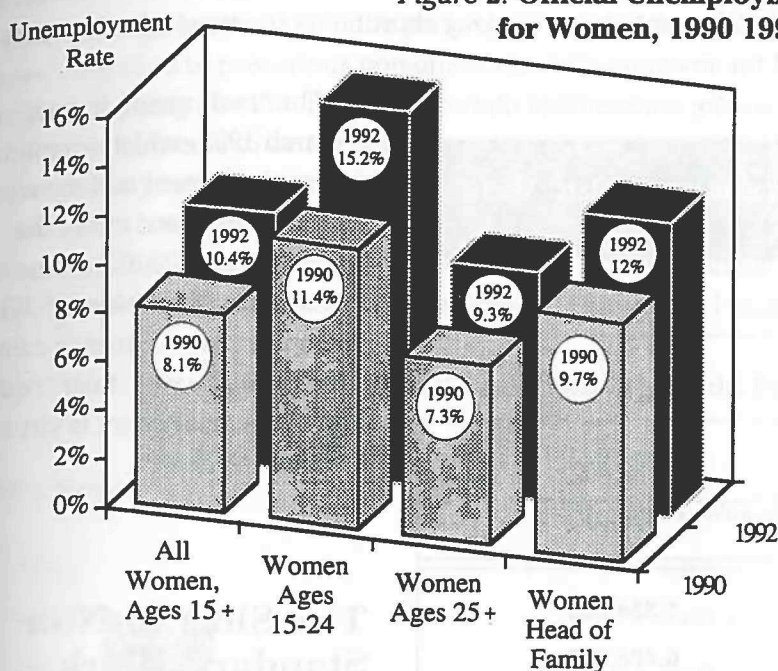
There is no up-to-date data on the numbers of working aboriginal women and women of colour. 1986 census data shows what women in those communities have suggested is in fact true. Only four out of ten aboriginal women have access to paid work leaving them in the most precarious position of all women in the workforce. The fact that large numbers of women of colour have always worked to support their families and communities is borne out in the 64.5% of women of colour over the age of fifteen that were in the labour force in 1986, a far higher percentage than the 55% of the total female population working that year.

Unemployment

The tide of rising unemployment is hitting women as hard as men. According to the United Nations Human Development Index, Canada's unemployment rates are higher than any other major industrialized country. The official National unemployment rate for women in March 1993 was 11.1%, or 689,000 women who were actively looking for work.

This is up more than three percentage points from 7.9% in 1989³. One in five unemployed women are heads of families⁴.

Figure 2: Official Unemployment Rate for Women, 1990 1992



Source: Statistics Canada Cat. No. 71-201
Historical Labour Force Statistics

March 1993 unemployment rates are highest among those women who are most in need of independent incomes — 15.8% for young women under 24, 14.1% for single women, 13.1% for separated or divorced women, and significantly, 12.9% for women who are heading families. This trend has been in evidence for the past three years.

Regionally, more women are out of work in regions where overall unemployment rates are high. This is true in the Atlantic provinces as well as in Quebec where 12.4% of women are looking for work.

On average, women are unemployed for 23.3 weeks but older women over the age of forty five are unemployed longer than others - 30.3 weeks on average⁵.

Although media reports of job losses focus on large scale layoffs in men's jobs and women's unemployment rate is officially lower than that of men (11.6%), much of women's unemployment is hidden in part-time, short-time jobs. The number of underemployed women is almost as high as the number of women unemployed.

The "Real" Unemployment Rate

³Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, Cat.No. 71-001

⁴Fast Facts, *Women Bear the Brunt*, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives,

⁵Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, March 1993, Cat. No 71-001

More and more, women who are working part-time actually need full time work. Of the 1,440,000 part-time working women in March 1993, 476,000 or 31.8% reported that they were only in part-time positions because they couldn't find full time jobs —a sharp increase from 20.8% in March 1989. Another 56,000 women were working short hours or were laid off for part of the week.

Table 1: "Real" Unemployment Rate for Women March 1993

Official Unemployed	652,000
Working Part-Time but Wanted Full-Time Work	476,000
Working Short-Time/Laid Off Part of Week	56,000
Labour Force Dropouts	150,000
Total Unemployed	1,334,000
Labour Force	6,406,000
"Real" Unemployment Rate	20.8%

Source: Statistics Canada
Cat. No. 71-201
Historical Labour Force Statistics

The "real" unemployment rate in March 1993 - which accounts for underemployment and the women who have dropped out of the labour force, is 20.8%, or one in five women. (See Table 1)⁶. When unemployment for men is calculated the same way, their "real" rate of unemployment is virtually the same at 20.9%.

The Shift to Non Standard Work - Part Time Workers

For women, one of the most foreboding of all of the changes

caused by economic restructuring is the shift towards "flexible work". This popular phrase which is sometimes used to tout increased freedom for working women, is actually the political and economic justification for the increasing introduction of work that is low paying, short-term, non-union, or paid by the piece.

In 1988 more than a third (36%) of all women were in non-standard jobs. People in non-standard jobs had average incomes of less than half of those in standard positions⁷. Non-standard work provides little or no security, medical, overtime, vacation, pension or other benefits. It is the fastest growing form of paid work in Canada and already makes up at least one third of all jobs⁸. The biggest share of short-term work is in the traditional service sectors (retail, food, hospitality) where women predominate.

94% of all job increases since 1989 have been in low paying service sector jobs which are being filled by women and young people⁹. Between 1981 and 1989, 44% of all new jobs created were "non-standard" - low pay, short term and part-time¹⁰. These "flexible" jobs are precarious, with poor working conditions and little opportunity for advancement, and they are an indication of the new workforce of the future.

⁶Women Workers and The Recession, Canadian Labour Congress, May 1993, calculated from Statistics Canada Cat. No. 71-001

⁷Fast Facts, Women and Poverty, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives

⁸Economic Justice Report, Vol 3 No. 4, December 1992

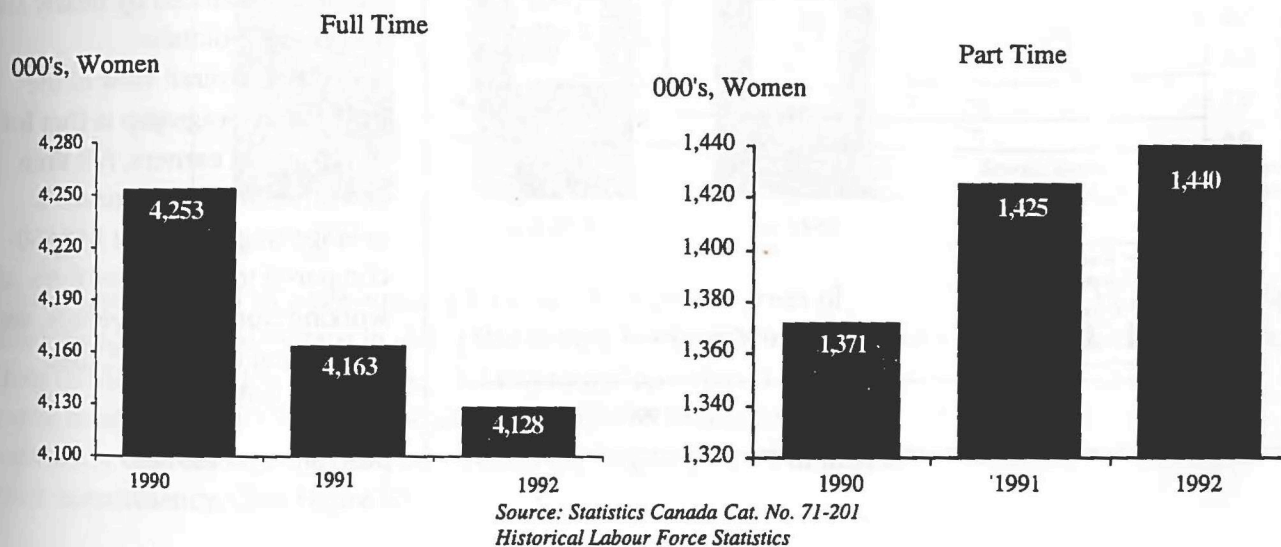
⁹Economic Justice Report, Vol. 3 No 4, December 1992

¹⁰Fast Facts, Poverty in Canada, Canadian Centre For Policy Alternatives

For women of colour and immigrant women who have traditionally worked in cleaning, factory assembly, hospitality, food services and other vulnerable sectors, this trend means further marginalization into the lowest echelons of the labour force. This is noted in a recent report "...for immigrant women workers, being a participant in the peripheral, flexible labour market has meant relegation to precarious non-union jobs with concomitant low wages and poor working conditions in an uncertain and insecure job environment."¹¹

Women continue to be the majority of the country's part-time labour force. In March this year, nearly one and a half million (1,495,000) or 68.3% of all part-time workers are women. More than half (53.4%) of all young women in the labour force are in part-time jobs¹². Women who don't work in full time, full year jobs earn an average salary of less than \$9,000 a year¹³. 140,000 more

Figure 3: Full and Part Time Jobs Held By Women, 1990, 1991, 1992



women are working part-time than five years ago and the percentage of all women working part time increased slightly from 24.4% in 1990 to 25.9% in 1992¹⁴. (see Figure 3)

Much has been made of recently released statistics that the wage gap between men and women is closing, with commentators implying that these statistics show that women are making slow and steady progress in the workplace.

In fact, the much touted figures refer only to little over half of all working women (3,419,000) - those in full time, full year jobs who earn \$26,842 on

Wages

¹¹Meeting the Needs of Vulnerable Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers Union & INTERCEDE, February 1993

¹²Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, March 1993, Cat. No. 71-001

¹³Statistics Canada, Earnings of Men & Women in 1991, Cat. No. 13-217

¹⁴Women Workers and The Recession, Canadian Labour Congress, May 1993. From Statistics Canada data Cat. No. 71-201

Table 2: Average Earnings 1991

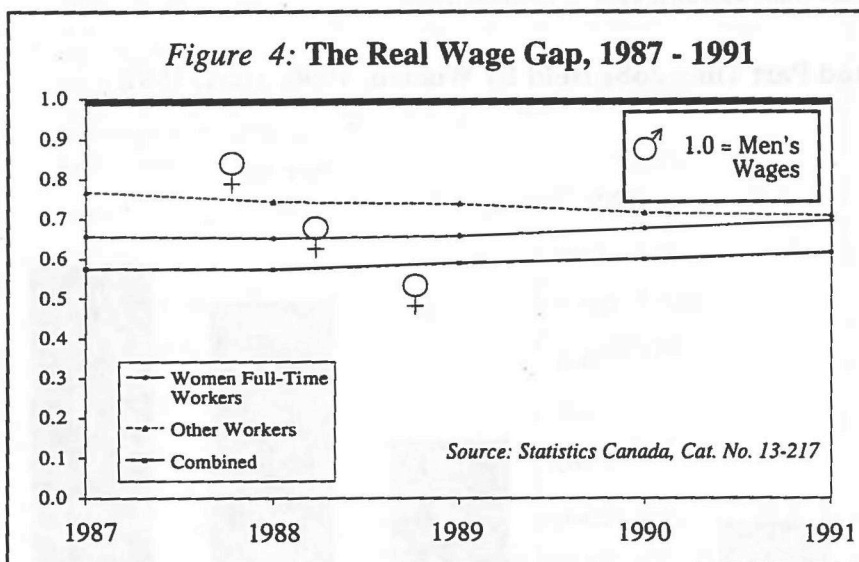
	Full-year Full-time Workers	Other Earners	All Earners
Men	\$38,567	\$12,539	\$29,328
Women	\$26,842	\$ 8,890	\$18,050
Earnings Ratio	69.6%	70.9%	61.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 13-217

average. That represents 69.6% of what their male counterparts earn an increase of two percentage points over 1990 figures¹⁵. The picture for the other half of the women's workforce (3,281,000 women) who are "other workers" — those not working full time — is far less rosy. In this growing sector, women earn less on average in 1991 (\$8,890) than they did in 1987 (9,427) and the gap between male and female wages has widened by nearly six percentage points!

A truer overall view of the male-female wage gap is that for all registered earners, full time and other, in which women's average wages are just \$18,050 compared to \$29,328 for men. All working women, on average, earn 61.5% what men earn¹⁶. (See Figure 4 and Table 2)

Figure 4: The Real Wage Gap, 1987 - 1991



The Wage Gap by Age

The wage gap between men's and women's earnings spreads as women grow older. The pattern shows that men's wages increase much more rapidly as they grow older and gain workforce experience.

Young women are earning 84.2% of what young men make¹⁷, but their actual low wages (average \$11,890) are a cause for serious concern. As economist Marjorie Cohen points out, "In 1991...younger women were receiving substantially less in wages....what we are seeing is the increasing prevalence of two tiered wage systems which suggests that the wage differentials for these new labour force entrants are an indication, not of a temporary phenomenon, but an overall wage restructuring.

¹⁵All figures in this section are from Statistics Canada, *Earnings of Men and Women in 1991*, Cat. No. 13-217 unless otherwise stated.

¹⁶It is virtually impossible to calculate the "real wage gap" since most low paying, short-term, non-standard jobs, many of which are held by women are not accounted for in official labour force data.

¹⁷Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace* Cat. No. 71-534E

While for men, youth is a period of deferred gratification for future earnings, women's low wages persist at all age levels. The false appearance of a relatively small wage gap between young people artificially inflates the overall figures for women.

Women between 35 and 44, who make up a quarter of the female workforce, are earning 58.9% of the earnings of men in their age category and the gap grows further for older women who earn just 53.8% of what older men make. (See Figure 5)

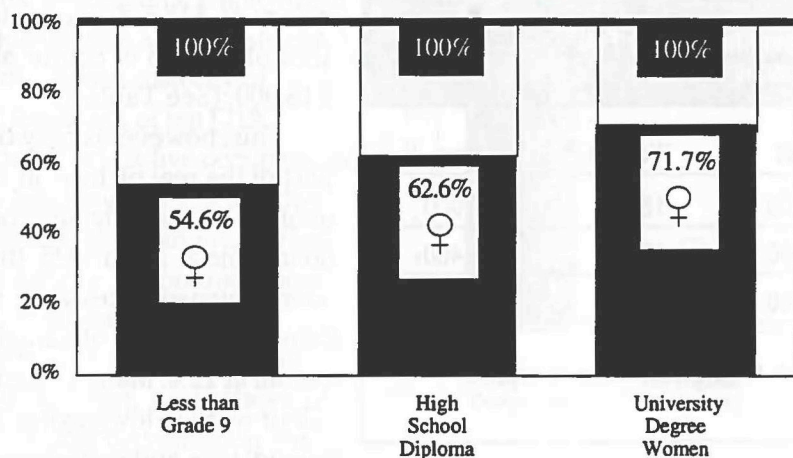


♂ **Figure 5: The Wage Gap, All Earners by Age, 1991**

Source: Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace*, Cat. No. 71-534E

Education is pivotal to wage equality for women. Higher degrees of education mean smaller gaps in men's and women's wages. Women with less than Grade 9 education earn far less (54.6%) as a proportion of their male peers than women with high school diplomas (62.6%). Women with university degrees fare the best, but are still earning only 71.7% of men in their constituency. (See Figure 6.)

The Wage Gap and Education



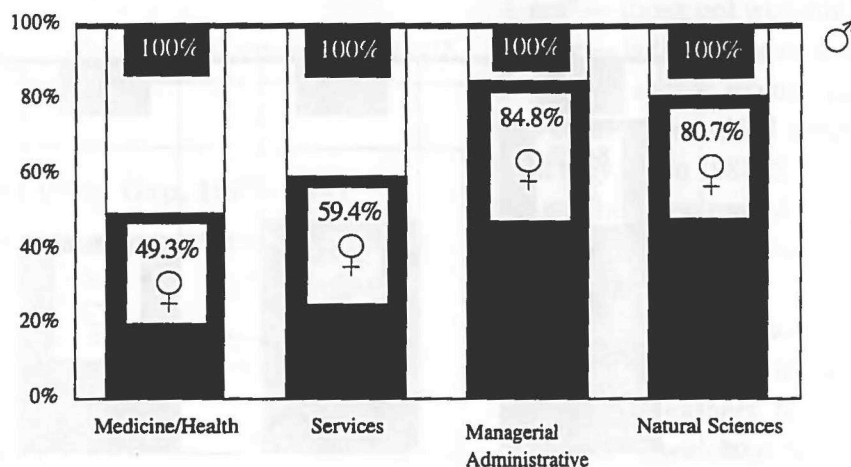
♂ **Figure 6: The Wage Gap, All Earners by Education Level, 1991**

Source: Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace*, Cat. No. 71-534E

The Wage Gap in Selected Occupations

Occupations where women are concentrated also show the largest gaps in wages between men and women, most dramatically in the field of medicine and health¹⁸. Although nearly nine out of ten (87%) nurses (and related workers) and one out of four (26.9%) doctors or dentists are women, together they earn just 49.3% of men's wages in the health sector. In services, where well over half the workforce (56.6%) is female, women earn 62.2% of men's average salary. Managers and administrators, of whom two out of five (40.4%) are now women, and who are held up as the

Figure 7: The Wage Gap, All Earners by Occupation, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace*, Cat. No. 71-534E

key sign of women's so-called progress, make merely 63.1% of men in comparable positions. The gap closes to 80.7% in natural sciences but less than one in five (18.1%) of workers in the profession are women. (See Figure 7)

Wages of Aboriginal Women & Women of Colour

The wages of women of colour and aboriginal women who were working in full time, full year jobs are notably lower than those of other women, men of colour and other men. In 1985, Aboriginal women drew an average

salary of \$18,500 - very close to that of women of colour at \$18,900. (See Table 3)

This, however is only one small part of the real picture. In 1989, a quarter of all aboriginal women had no income at all. In 1985, their unemployment rates were more than double those of Canadians overall at 22%. Many women of colour work in low-paying 'underground' jobs and their wages are not recorded in official statistics.

Table 3: Average Employment Income for Full-Time and Full-Year Work in 1985

	Total	Women	Men
Visible Minority Workers	24,200	18,900	27,900
Aboriginal Workers	23,200	18,500	26,400
Other Canadian Workers	27,000	20,100	30,700

Source: Statistics Canada, *Profile of Visible Minority and Aboriginal Peoples, 1986 Census*.

¹⁸All statistics on wages and occupations in this section are from Statistics Canada, *women in the Workplace* Cat. No. 71-534E

Racial background clearly has an impact on wages, but more surprising is the relatively small gap between women by race compared to the larger gap in earnings by gender, showing that visible minority men, aboriginal men and white men all earn far more than any grouping of women.

In all the wages of women remain far behind those of men. Working poverty is a reality for many. More than three out of five (60.7%) working women are earning less than \$20,000 a year¹⁹ and less than one in twenty-five women earn more than \$50,000 - in sharp contrast to one in six men. (See Table 4)

Women are the bulk of workers in the lowest paying sectors of the economy, making up more than 72% of Canada's ten lowest paid jobs and just 20% of those in the ten highest paying occupations²⁰. Women are paid the least in agriculture - crop, livestock and other farming. Significantly, child care, where 98% of workers are women, is the overall lowest paying occupation in the country. (See Table 5, Figure 8)

Although this table clearly shows a growing polarization among women, even in the top paying sectors, women are 'second class' workers earning far less than men and, in most cases working in low paying, traditionally female occupations.

Where Women Work

Public optimism was raised by recent media reports that women are increasingly moving into non-traditional professional employment. In fact, job ghettos are a persistent reality for the vast majority of women. Seven out of ten (71%) women work in just five occupational groups - teaching, nursing or other related health occupations, clerical, sales, or service. In non-traditional areas such as manufacturing, construction, transportation and materials handling, percentages of women actually decreased by three points from 13% in 1981 to 10% in 1991.²¹

Wages — The Overall Picture

Source: Women Workers and the Recession, Canadian Labour Congress, May 1993; Statistics Canada Cat. No. 13-217, Earnings of Men and Women

Table 4: Distribution of Women and Men Workers by Earning Group, 1991		
Earning Group	Women	Men
Less than \$10,000	37.0%	23.9%
\$10 - \$20,000	23.7%	16.2%
\$20 - \$30,000	20.3%	16.5%
\$30-\$50,000	15.4%	27.6%
\$50,000	3.7%	15.7%

\$ Billions

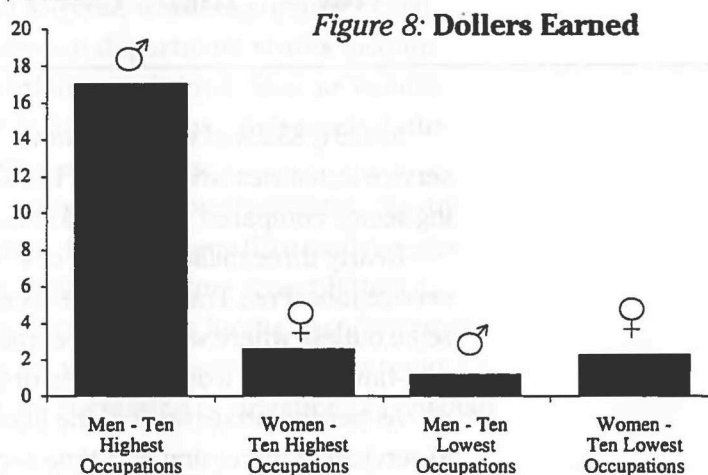


Figure 8: Dollars Earned

Source: The Daily, Statistics Canada, April 13, 1993

¹⁹Figures for the rest of this section are Statistics Canada Cat. No. 13-217, taken from *Women Workers and the Recession*, Canadian Labour Congress, May 1993

²⁰The Daily, Statistics Canada, April 13, 1993

²¹Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace*, Cat. No. 71-534

Table 5: Average Earnings in the Ten Highest and Ten Lowest Paying Occupations, Full Time Full Year, 1990

Occupation	Number of Earners		Average Earnings	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ten highest paying occupations	214,755	53,460	79,463	48,609
Judges and magistrates	1,660	475	109,313	79,204
Physicians and surgeons	24,120	7,320	111,261	73,071
Dentists	6,015	760	99,280	67,997
Lawyers and notaries	30,755	10,430	86,108	50,012
General managers and other senior officials	104,645	24,580	74,425	40,633
Other managers and administrators mines, quarries and oil wells	2,915	950	73,281	39,151
Air pilots, navigators and flight engineers	7,110	375	66,087	31,026
Osteopaths and chiropractors	2,030	440	68,404	45,368
Management occupations, natural sciences and engineering	12,520	1,785	66,668	41,800
University teachers	22,985	6,350	65,671	49,000
Ten lowest paying occupations	65,225	170,230	18,794	13,673
Livestock farm workers	10,415	5,795	19,279	11,788
Sewing machine operators, textile and similar material	2,765	29,370	22,991	15,933
Other farming, horticultural and animal husbandry	13,860	11,320	19,537	12,174
Crop farm workers	6,015	5,780	19,814	12,421
Bartenders	6,320	7,440	18,558	13,952
Lodging cleaners, except private households	1,060	6,910	19,238	15,178
Service station attendants	8,370	2,065	16,135	13,359
Housekeepers, servants and related	1,145	12,680	19,210	14,053
Food and beverage serving	13,845	48,505	17,822	13,037
Child-care	1,440	40,365	20,987	13,252
TOTAL	2800,18	2237,17	1,0140,79	6524,15

Source: The Daily, Statistics Canada, April 13, 1993

In 1991, 85.2% of working women compared to 62% of all men were in service industries whereas just 14.8% of women worked in the goods producing sector compared with 38.4% of men.

Nearly three million, or half of all working women are in clerical, sales or service jobs. Free Trade and the recession have shut down many of the small retail outlets where women have traditionally been employed. Both full and part-time jobs for women in sales dropped between 1990 and 1993.

As per the predictions of the Economic Council of Canada, restructuring in services is increasing part-time service jobs for women by 5.41% since 1990 while full time jobs are shrinking - by 4.33% in three years.

Nearly one of every three women who work outside the home are clerical workers. More than eighty percent of all clerical workers are female.

Clerical Work

Clerical employment has undergone an almost invisible restructuring process since the early eighties. Full time women's jobs have been reduced by 10.25% and part-time positions grew by only 1.26% in the past three years. Two polarized trends have been created. Computerization has resulted in, on the one hand, senior level clerical functions being incorporated into management or professional jobs, on the other, more routinized jobs such as data entry. Many traditional clerical positions have been eliminated. The professionalization of clerical work has pushed older, often less educated women and women with family responsibilities down the occupational ladder²². The decline in the percentage of women in clerical jobs from 34% in 1981 to 29% in 1991²³ illustrates this.

Unemployment rates for clerical workers are skyrocketing. In Metro Toronto alone, 41.1% of the women on unemployment insurance are clerical workers²⁴. The predicament of these women does not hit the headlines because women tend to work in smaller workplaces where the layoffs take place one at a time - not en masse²⁵.

Women in the Professions

While women's professional and managerial employment seems to have grown dramatically — by 10.25% over the last three years and 27% between 1981 and 1991²⁶, a substantial portion of this is due to job reclassification and changes in occupational definitions. For example, women who were previously classified as retail workers are now called managers of small two person retail areas in department stores despite little or no change in their wages or working conditions. Also, as women move into key occupations such as pharmacy and law, their work status and wages are far lower than their male counterparts.

Although it may be true that very few high-profile, well educated, mostly white women are faring somewhat better in the workforce than twelve years ago - many women in management and professional work report hitting a glass ceiling on their ability to advance, and conditions for the vast majority of women who remain outside of professional work are worsening. This trend among women mirrors to some degree, the increasing polarization of Canadian society as a whole.

²²Marcy Cohen, *Getting on Track*, Daniel Drache Ed.

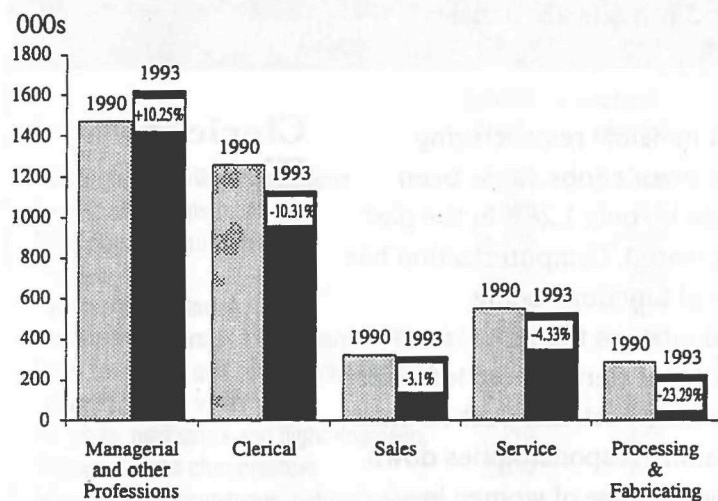
²³Statistics Canada, *Women in The Workplace*, Cat. No. 71-534

²⁴EIC Administrative Files — SPP 10% longitudinal file March 31, 1993

²⁵Marcy Cohen, *Getting on Track*, Daniel Drache Ed.

²⁶Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace*, Cat. No. 71-534

Figure 9: Full Time Female Employment by Occupation, Jan 1990, Jan 1993



Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat. No. 71-001

Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat. No. 71-001

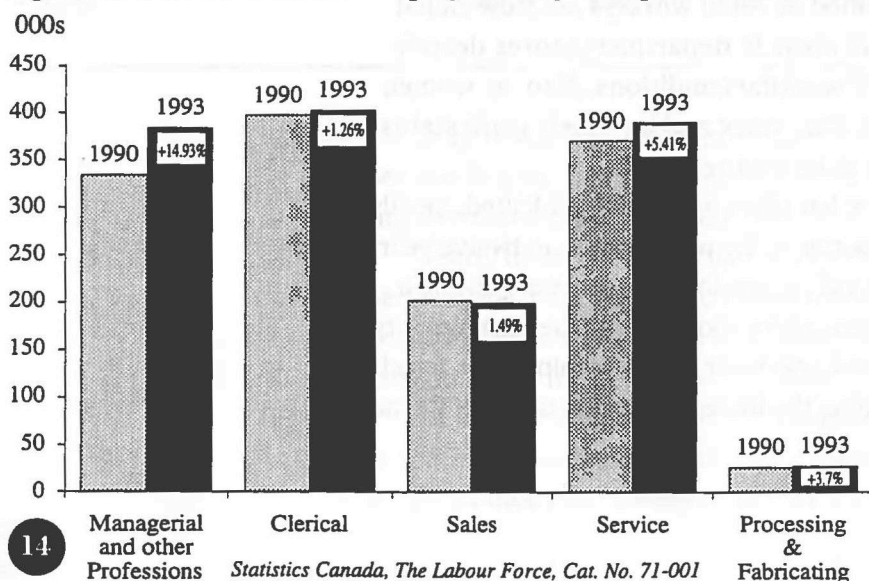
Table 6: Full time Female Employment by Occupation, 1990, 1992

	1990	1992	%
Managerial&Other Professions	1,473,000	1,624,000	+10.25%
Clerical	1,261,000	1,131,000	-10.31%
Sales	323,000	313,000	-3.1%
Service	554,000	530,000	-4.33%
Processing & Fabricating	292,000	224,000	-23.29%

Table 7: Part Time Female Employment by Occupation, 1990, 1992

	1990	1992	%
Managerial&Other Professions	335,000	385,000	+14.93%
Clerical	398,000	403,000	+1.26%
Sales	202,000	199,000	-1.49%
Service	370,000	390,000	+5.41%
Processing & Fabricating	27,000	28,000	+3.7%

Figure 10: Part Time Female Employment by Occupation Jan 1990, Jan 1993



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Women's full time jobs in processing, fabricating and machining are continuing to disappear. Sixty eight thousand jobs have been cut since 1990 with ten thousand of those in the past year alone. These losses, the product of partial or permanent plant closures, are highly likely to be permanent. More than 400,000 manufacturing jobs have been lost since the Canada-U.S. Free Trade agreement went into effect in 1989 throwing the manufacturing sector into its worst crisis since the Great Depression.

In March 1993, 142,000 (16%) of the 890,000 women in goods producing industries were unemployed²⁷. The pattern of the recession of the early eighties shows that women are less likely than men to find new work: more than 25% of women laid off between 1981 and 1984 did not return to the workforce, compared to 12% of men.

In the Auto Parts sector, where the majority of labour intensive jobs are held by women, 20,000 jobs have been lost since 1989. Over five years, 33,500 jobs were lost in the garment industry almost all of which were held by women of colour and immigrant women²⁸.

In B.C., entire industries such as fisheries are threatened with closure. The vast majority of shore workers in B.C. canneries are Native women and women of colour (largely Asian women), many of whom have held those jobs their whole lives. Different from the Atlantic fishery, where fish stocks themselves are depleted, B.C.'s crisis is a direct result of free trade. Most recently, the largest cannery in Vancouver, B.C. Packers, announced that it is shutting down and shifting production to the U.S.

Increased competition due to liberalized trade policies has caused unionized factories in the garment industry to close and employment to drop from 95,800 in 1988 to an estimated 62,800 in 1992 - one third of the entire industry²⁹.

A high proportion of workers are women of colour, many of whom lack adequate English language skills. More and more individual women are sub-contracted to work in the isolation of their homes where they must pay for their own equipment - a sewing machine can cost \$3,500. They are denied employment standards protection, pension, and other benefits, and are paid by the piece with no account of overtime hours or vacation pay.

"Homework" is a rapidly growing phenomenon. Of the 36,000 women working in Quebec's garment industry, 26,000 are estimated to be 'underground' workers. Montreal and Vancouver, where rough estimates indicate 12,000 such workers, are the cities where the largest numbers of women do this type of work.

Women in Manufacturing

Homeworkers in the Garment Industry

²⁷Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force, March 1993 Cat. No. 71-001*

²⁸*Economic Justice Report, Vol. III No 4*

²⁹*Meeting The Needs of Vulnerable Workers, ILGWU & INTERCEDE, February 1993*

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In Toronto, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) estimates up to 4,000 women assemble clothes in their homes. In a study with thirty Chinese speaking homeworkers, the union found that the women were working under conditions of extreme exploitation. Most are paid well below the minimum wage-on average \$4.64/hour, with some earning as little as \$1 an hour. The women work 46 hours a week on average, but during their busiest periods their work week is as long as 100 hours. None of them received overtime pay. Ninety percent of them were suffering from health problems related to their work.

Domestic Workers

Effective April 1992, the federal government introduced The Live-In Care Giver Program (LCP) to replace the Foreign Domestic Movement Program (FDM). The LCP "pre-screens" women who apply for entry into Canada by requiring that they have education equivalent to Canadian grade twelve, six months training in a formal program that qualifies them for live-in care, and English language skills.

These requirements amount to racist restrictions that bar women of colour from developing countries, who have limited access to education and would, in the past, have qualified as domestics, from entry into Canada. Illegal employment of domestics is growing. While 7,716 new domestic workers were accepted into Canada under the old FDM in 1991, figures for January to October 1992 show a drop to 2,213 entrants. There are an estimated 30,000 illegal domestic workers in Toronto alone³⁰. INTERCEDE reports that new membership rates have dropped significantly since the introduction of LCP. Up to mid-1992 they had 130 new members a month, but that has fallen to an average of 70 by the end of 1992.

The LCP aims to 'professionalize' live-in care and focus requirements towards the care of children, the disabled and elderly. This makes housework, which is still a crucial part of domestic work, even more invisible and devalued as a legitimate form of paid work - supporting notions that it is simply part of women's gender role.

New regulations also reinforce the live-in requirement for foreign domestics which has widely been recognized as exposing women to various forms of employer abuse - the most common of which is overwork and under-compensation. Domestic workers organizations are calling for women to have an option to live out rather than being forced to live-in as a condition of immigration. Unlike other workers from abroad, domestic workers are granted temporary immigration visas for two years before they are eligible for

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landed immigration status. In the interim, a domestic worker must receive approval from the Canada Immigration Centre before changing employers or she faces deportation.

The LCP has been criticized and opposed by a large number of groups including the all-party Commons Subcommittee on Immigration which held public hearings into the program. INTERCEDE and other groups are calling for changes in provincial labour legislation that will allow domestic workers the right to unionize through sectoral bargaining.

Women are joining unions eight times faster than men³¹. Women are still less likely to be in unions than men, but in 1990 an unprecedented 30% of working women were organized. Although this figure is somewhat inflated because it doesn't include agricultural or home-based workers, it nonetheless indicates that women are looking to unionization in order to redress both economic and social inequities in the workplace. This trend is not inclusive however, as only 6% of workers of colour and aboriginal workers are in unions.

Feminists inside the trade union movement, particularly in public sector unions, have pressed for changes on issues such as child care, racial and sexual harassment, same-sex spousal benefits, health & safety, affirmative action and employment equity, all of which are critical to improving the condition of working women.

The highest rates of women's unionization are in public administration (62%) and communications and other utilities (50%). On average, unionized women earn 60% more than non-union women. In primary industries - fishing, farming and forestry - union women make 89% more. In the service sector organized women earn 81% more than their unorganized sisters.

Recent federal and provincial announcements of cuts in the public sector, which has often set the pace for advancements made by women, threaten even the small gains women have made through unionization. The trend in these jobs towards the elimination of full-time positions, in favour of part-time or contract jobs, will lead more and more women to rely on the private service sector³² where unionization rates are the lowest.

With mothers of young children entering the workforce at unprecedented rates, the need for an affordable, accessible, comprehensive system of quality child care which is culturally appropriate is becoming increasingly critical.

Rather than improving, the gap between the number of women in need of child care and the number of available spaces is growing at an alarming rate. In

Unionization

Child Care

³¹All statistics in this section are from *The Canadian Labour Congress, Women's Bureau* unless otherwise indicated.

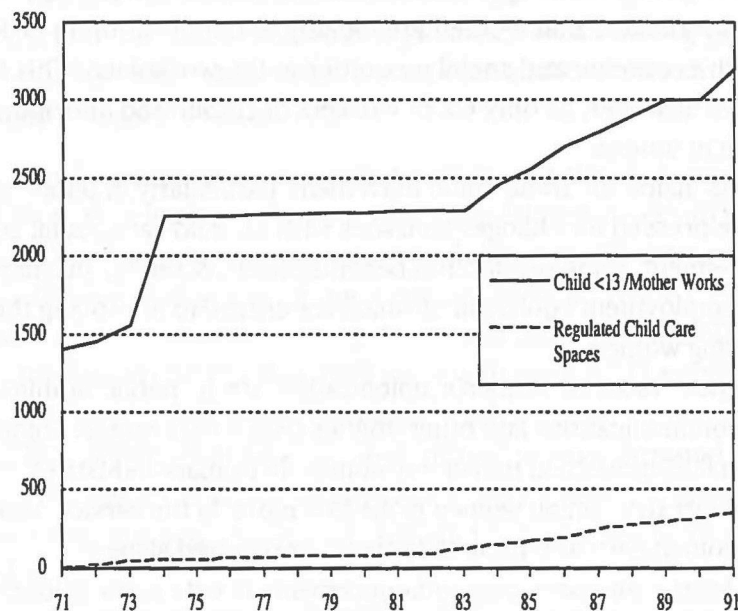
³²Canadian Labour Congress, *Women Workers and The Recession*, May 1993

1991, 3,153,731 women with children under the age of 13 were in the paid workforce. This is in sharp contrast to the existing 333,082 child care spaces.

Expansion of child care spaces has slowed down to the lowest point in ten years. Between 1990 and 1991 the number of regulated child care spaces in Canada grew by only 2.95%, the lowest percentage increase since 1978. While it may seem progressive that regulated child care is increasing at all, in reality the number of children with working mothers has grown at a much greater rate. In 1991, there were 800,000 more children with a working mother for whom there was no regulated child care space than there were in 1974. (See Figure 11)

Figure 11: Child Care Supply and Demand: The Gap Widens — Children <13 with Mothers in the Labour Force and Number of Regulated Childcare Spaces.

Source: Occasional Paper #1, *Childcare Resource and Research Unit, the University of Toronto; Status of Day Care in Canada, Health and Welfare Canada 1971-1991.*



The lack of affordable care means that a majority of children are cared for in unregulated child care arrangements of unknown quality. Only 12% of children with working mothers are currently in regulated care.

Costs of Child care

Even where regulated child care spaces are available, the costs of quality care are out of reach for many women. The fees for infant child care in one centre in downtown Toronto are \$1,200 a month. In B.C., where the maximum subsidy for infant care is \$574, care in a good program can cost as much as \$1,000 and it is up to mothers to pay the difference. On

average, monthly fees are \$370 - 777 for infants, \$328 - 578 for preschoolers and \$165 - 275 for school age children.

Many women do not qualify for subsidies, and amounts vary greatly from province to province. For low income women in most parts of the country, the money is either not enough or is just too difficult to get. In Metro Toronto alone, 15,300 eligible children were on the waiting list for subsidy in April 1993.

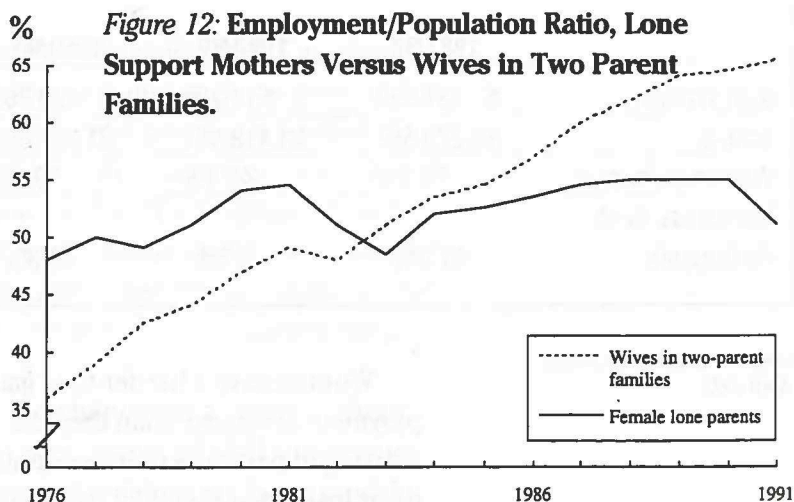
Sole support mothers are in the most financially precarious position 59% of them live below the poverty line. A 1991 survey by the Daily Bread Food Bank in Toronto found that 22.4% identified child care responsibilities as the reason they were not working. Without access to affordable child care, women with children cannot work. This is one explanation for the exceptionally high unemployment rates of single mothers - 16.8% as opposed to 9.6% for wives in two parent families. Getting single mothers out of poverty means creating a comprehensive, flexible (more than nine to five) system of child care which allows them to work. Only 52% of single mothers are in paid jobs, (See Figure 12) one in five are working part-time, and half of those women want full time work³³.

Quality of Child Care

Quality of care is a major concern in the few existing centres. Lack of adequate public funding to non-profit centres, and the profit motive of private operators keep staff wages ridiculously low, in turn creating rapid employee turnover and difficulty attracting qualified workers.

Child care workers, 98% of whom are women, are subsidizing the child care system through poor pay and lack of benefits³⁴. The results of a recent study found that between 1984 and 1991, the average child care wage (in real terms) fell by 4.5% and many child care workers are living near or below the poverty line. Staff turnover is highest in commercial centres (30% a year) where wages (\$8.07/hour) and benefits are the lowest. Unpaid overtime work is common, 73% of workers do some hidden overtime hours away from the centre.

Child care and Poverty



Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 75-001E Perspectives Spring 1993

³³All figures in this paragraph from Statistics Canada, Perspectives. Spring 1993, Cat. No. 75-001E

³⁴Unless otherwise indicated, all data in this section is from Caring For A Living: A Study on wages and working conditions in Canadian Child care, a project of The Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association and The Canadian Child Day Care Federation.

Training

For women to move forward in a society dominated by technological change, and with education being one of the factors that contributes to economic equality, re-training and skills upgrading is a must. Access to training is particularly crucial for the large numbers of doubly disadvantaged women marginalized by Free Trade, economic restructuring and the recession.

The Federal Government, while publicly claiming that training is a key part of their economic agenda, dropped the ball on this issue in 1989 by shifting most of the responsibility for job training from the government funded Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) to the self funded Unemployment Insurance Fund. Since 1984/85 the Federal Government has cut spending on training by a half from \$2.1 billion to \$1.54 billion.

Marif

Table 8: Training for Women Under Canadian Jobs Strategy
Training of Women: Expenditures and Participation Rate (\$000)

	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92
\$ on Women	\$ 687,969	\$ 611,785	\$ 638,269	\$ 590,975	\$482,514
Total \$	\$1,278,557	\$1,419,454	\$1,482,669	\$1,494,216	—
Women as % of \$	53.8%	43.1%	39.6%	39.6%	—
Women as % of Participants	41.8%	40.8%	40.3%	38.8%	38.3%

Compiled by Barbara Cameron
April 1993

Women have a harder time gaining access to training funded by Unemployment Insurance than they did under the CJS. With so many women working in part-time or in non-standard jobs, and regulation for Unemployment Insurance eligibility more draconian than ever, young women, new entrants into the labour force, and immigrants who are not eligible for UI benefits are cut out of programs altogether.

In real terms, the federal government has reduced spending on women's training by more than two hundred million dollars or nearly 30% in the years since the Free Trade Agreement went into effect. More than one hundred million of this drop was in the year between 1990/91 and 1991/92 when the CJS budget was cut by the close to the same amount. In effect women took 108% of the cut to the Canadian Jobs Strategy. (See Table 8)

The cuts have affected bridging programs for women, particularly programs for women of colour and immigrant women. Many community based training centres geared to providing upgrading skills for employment-

disadvantaged women have been forced to shut down. Programs that previously allowed women to move from basic education to substantial training, sequential long term training has been particularly hard hit.

Access to quality English as a Second Language (ESL) Programs that allow immigrant women the chance to apply for jobs with reasonable pay levels has been cut back even further in the past year, leaving women unable to move out of the margins of the workforce.

Language Training

Effective June 1992, the Federal Government replaced the previous 24 week, college-based Canada Employment program that paid training allowances for language training with two new programs — Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) and Labour Market Language Training (LMLT) with an overall budget of \$100 million³⁵.

80% of Federal language training money goes to LINC which does not provide any training allowances, thereby cutting off immigrant women many of whom work a double day to survive.

The program is also not open to refugee claimants and Canadian citizens. This eliminates the training option for non-anglo women, including French speaking women outside of Quebec who previously worked in factories where they could operate in their native language, and who are now laid off. They are now blocked from gaining the language skills they need to find other work. In any case, LINC is designed only for basic language training and does not teach skills that help people get into the labour market. In some cases, instructors have been forbidden to do so, in spite of the demand from students.

Although this program provides for paid childminding services, their quality is poorly monitored and in many cases, untrained staff who are not familiar with the particular needs of immigrant children are being hired for wages as low as \$7 an hour.

Labour Market Language Training (LMLT), does provide for living allowances but receives only 20% of language training dollars, and is only available to people who have occupational skills needed in their communities. Women, many of whom are trained in traditionally female jobs, for instance clerical work, become ineligible because of the high rate of unemployment among clerical workers.

Many women looking to improve their education levels are turning to the expensive option of attending colleges and universities. In twenty years, the participation rate of women in undergraduate university programs jumped from 35% ³⁶(1970) to 52.6% (1990-91)³⁷.

Access to Education

³⁵All figures in this section are from *Adult English as a Second Language in Ontario*, Joan Baril, Confederation College, Thunder Bay.

³⁶The Canadian Federation of Students (CFS), *Women in Education — Fact Sheet*

³⁷Statistics Canada, *University Enrollments 1990-91*

College education, which tends to be cheaper, shows participation rates for women as high as 64%.³⁸ The vast majority of mature (60%³⁹) and part-time (64.2%) students at all post-secondary institutions are women.

Despite these impressive numbers, the evidence is that full-time post-secondary education is still largely the purview of students from relatively well educated and middle to upper-class families⁴⁰. In 1988, 17% of Canadian women continued to have less than a grade 9 education. Aboriginal women have the least access to formal education at all levels. 21.3% of Native women over the age of 15 had less than grade 9 schooling.

Tuition fees for post-secondary programs rose by an average of 40 to 80% between 1985-86 and 1991-92, and climbed a further 10-20% for the 1992-93 academic year⁴¹. The burden of these fees explains the high percentage of women who are part-time students. In 1990-91, 32% of all part-time, mature women students were clerical workers⁴².

The Federal Government in 1993 is changing the already inadequate Canada Student Loan Program to "lower costs to the government"⁴³. As a result, student loans will be more difficult to get and be available for a much shorter period - 340 weeks rather than the previous 520.

Government assistance for aboriginal students has been capped since 1987. According to the Assembly of First Nations, in 1991 400 First Nations students were denied funding under the federal government's student aid program for Inuit and registered Indian Peoples. This reduces the possibilities for young First Nations women to virtually nil.

With student financial assistance programs being eroded, women from less privileged backgrounds, who are already struggling to complete their degrees and diplomas, will have to bear even more of the costs of a post-secondary educational financing.

In the current climate of government cutbacks, more of the funding for post-secondary education is being put in the hands of private, corporate funders, who in turn are allowed a greater role in determining the type of labour force institutions will produce. Much of this funding is directed to applied science and technology studies which are still filled in large number by men.

Although the number of women in teaching positions on Canadian campuses has increased tenfold since 1960, they are still only 20% of full time faculty with 80% of those concentrated in just four fields - humanities, health, education and social sciences. At higher teaching ranks, the picture gets significantly worse - only 7% of all full professors are women. Women are least represented in engineering and applied sciences (3%), and mathematics & physical sciences (7%)⁴⁴.

³⁸CFS, *Women in Education, Fact Sheet*

³⁹Statistics Canada, *Perspectives, Spring 1993 Cat. No. 75-001E*

⁴⁰An Overview of Student Financial Assistance, Caryn Duncan, *Canadian Federation of Students*

⁴¹*Ibid*

⁴²Statistics Canada, *Canadian Social Trends, Autumn 1992*

⁴³An overview of Student Financial Assistance, Caryn Duncan, *Canadian Federation of Students*

⁴⁴Women In Academia — A growing minority, *Statistics Canada, perspectives, Spring 1993*

Employment Equity

The 1992 review of the Federal Employment Equity Program, as required by the original act, has yielded no change in what is already an extremely weak and limited piece of legislation. Despite calls from the Commons committee to change the focus of the Act from simply asking employers to report on levels of hiring, with no penalties for lack of improvement or for that matter decreases in the hiring of disadvantaged groups, to a system requiring the setting and meeting of specific hiring goals, no action to this effect has been taken by the federal government.

Covering only 600,000 employees of banks, communications & transportation firms and Crown Corporations, the Act does not even regulate the federal government's own hiring.

Little or no progress is being made for most women, particularly Aboriginal women, women of colour and disabled women. In some cases the positions of women is actually worse. Without mandatory goals and timetables, women with disabilities, racial minority women and aboriginal women continue to be virtually excluded from the workforce, face discrimination both at entry and promotion and experience scandalous unemployment rates. The only group of women that are experiencing any advancement are white women, and it is at a glacial pace.

A study of the employment equity records of three large Canadian employers (and their 52,250 employees) covered by the Employment Equity Act shows women from the designated groups face double discrimination and disadvantages. Their representation, rate of hiring, promotions, terminations and salaries are worse than those of all women.

At these rates of change, it would take over 60 years for women to represent 50% of the workforce at Air Canada, and "only" 50 years at the CBC.

This study reinforces the observation that the female workforce is polarizing. The federal program claims some success based on the advancement for mostly white women into lower level management and professions, particularly into the management of "female" clerical work. A large percentage of the female management and professionals were in the lowest salary quarter for these occupations in all three workplaces. And, the number of women promoted into upper management positions actually decreased over the period.

Larger numbers of women than men continue to earn the lowest salaries, and larger numbers of men than women earn the highest salaries.

Employment equity plans must focus on more than moving women into management and non-traditional jobs. They should ensure that women cease to be disproportionately represented in the lowest paying jobs. By this measure, the Program is having no success, since the concentration of other

women in lower paying clerical and service jobs has not decreased. Plans must also include plans to eliminate all forms of harassment against racial and linguistic minority women, sexual harassment, and harassment of women with disabilities and lesbians. Many work places are still not safe places for women to work.

Figure 13: Percentage of Full Time Positions Held by Women at Three Major Corporations

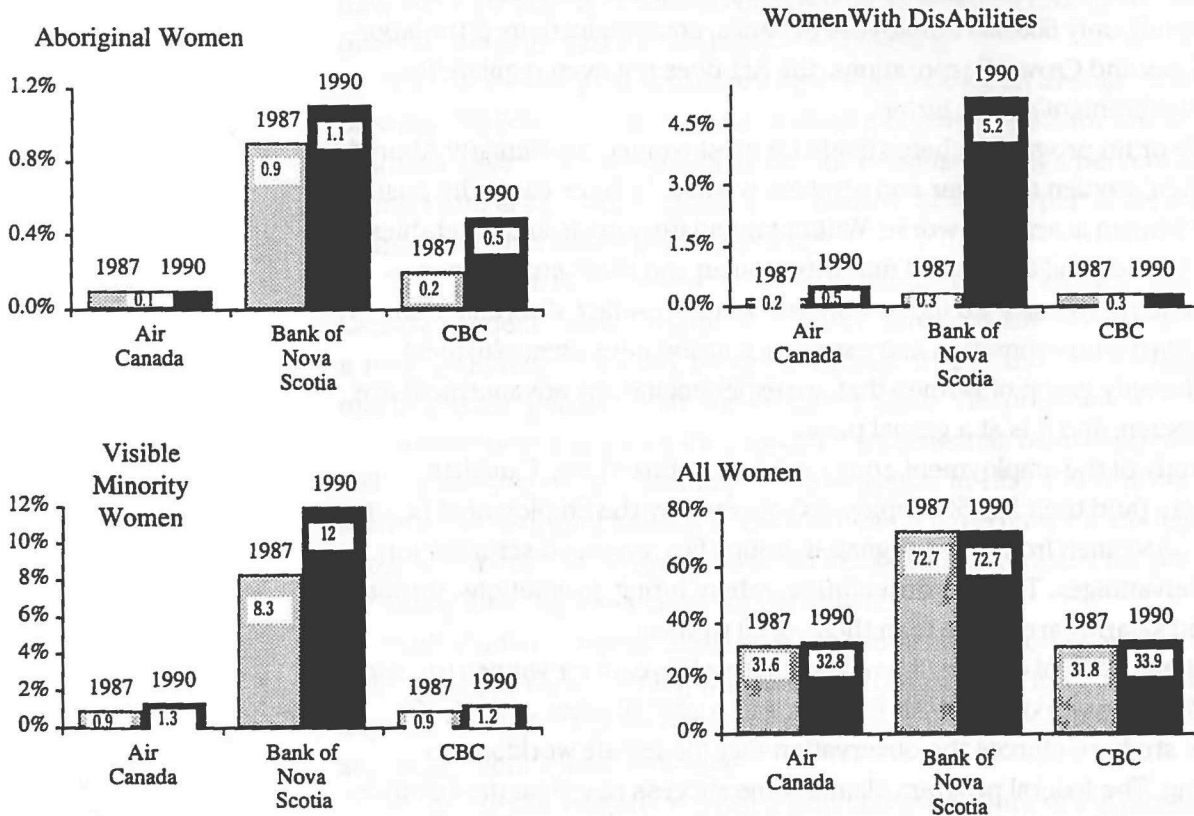
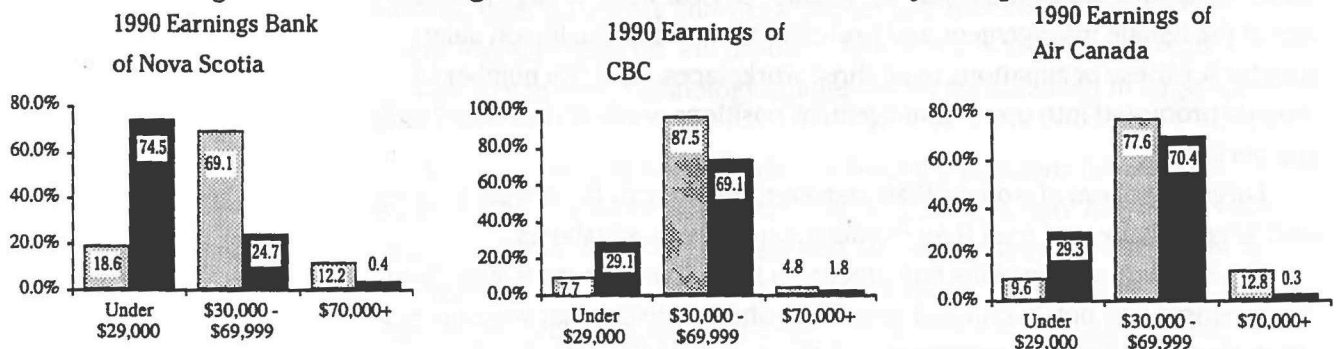


Figure 14: 1990 Earnings of Women and Men at Three Major Corporations



Source: Judy Rebick and Phebe Poole, *Not Another Hundred Years*,
Brief to the Parliamentary Committee Reviewing the Employment Equity Act, NAC 1992

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GOVERNMENT POLICIES & FUNDING — SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The popular justification for massive cuts in social services by governments of all stripes at both federal and provincial levels, is the need to control ballooning government deficits. At the federal level “deficit-mania” has allowed the government to abandon the principle of universality in health, tax, pension, education, unemployment insurance, and other forms of social assistance, implying that overspending on these programs is the cause of Canada’s economic woes.

The reality behind the rhetoric is that government spending on social services has dropped steadily since 1984. As a Statistics Canada study succinctly put it “...social program spending has not increased relative to Gross Domestic Product in 16 years”⁴⁵. Rather than social service spending being ‘out of control’, the causes of government deficits are reduced taxes to the rich, high interest rate policies that have driven up the cost of servicing the debt, and falling government income tax revenues due to high unemployment.

Ending universality in social programs is a political move. It is a decision to finance a global restructuring of the economy to suit the interests of a small transnational corporate elite. A decision that in turn requires women, people of colour, aboriginal people, the elderly, and middle and low-income people to sacrifice their livelihoods and pay increasingly exorbitant taxes that are used to subsidize the transition.

When social services are cut, women, who are doing the lioness’ share of unpaid work in the home, and who are still seen as the primary care givers in society, are forced to pick up the slack. The workdays and stress levels of women are increasing to dangerous levels. The de-institutionalization of healthcare which is being trumpeted as a humane shift towards ‘community based care’ by getting patients out of hospitals and back into their homes, is literally a cut in women’s paid work in the health sector in favour of increased unpaid work for women at home.

In April this year, the federal government implemented the most draconian cuts to the system of unemployment insurance (UI) in the history of the more than fifty year old program. Benefits, which were cutback by Bill C-21 in 1990 from 66% of previous earnings to 60%, are now cut back even further to 57% by Bill C-113. Anyone fired, or deemed by the regulations to have quit their job without just cause, is no longer eligible for benefits at all.

Cuts to Unemployment Insurance

Recently, community advocates and analysts of Bill C-113 realized that if UI decides a claimant shouldn't have quit or deserved or be fired, not only are they not eligible for benefits this time around, they cannot count those work weeks as insured weeks for future claims in the same year. This means that even if a disqualified claimant is able to find work for enough weeks to establish another claim, their benefits will run shorter and rates will likely be lower than if those weeks and earnings were factored in. Training manuals used to train EIC agents spell this out⁴⁶.

For women these changes are disastrous. Although only 37% of all UI claimants are women, they make up well over half (53%) of those who had quit their jobs. 43% of people who quit and are on UI were working in low income occupations⁴⁷.

In an attempt to appease the outcry from women's and social justice movements, the definition of "just cause" for leaving a job has been expanded to include: sexual harassment; racist, sexist, heterosexist, religious, and other discrimination; unsafe or unhealthy working conditions; obligations to accompany or care for a child or a spouse; if a valid job offer you had fell through; your job, or wages were substantially changed; you were forced to work excessive overtime or not paid or overtime worked. This is cold comfort to women who leave jobs where they were terrorized into silence by sexual, racial or other harassment. Women must still show that they "have done everything possible to avoid quitting", leaving the onus on them to complain formally, irrespective of the fact that they may be too traumatized to speak out.

The cut in benefit levels is a serious concern for women on maternity leave. Expenses associated with having children are already high enough without this further reduction in income. In 1991, 93.9% of women who had compensated maternity benefits were paid at least in part through Unemployment Insurance. More than three quarters (76.9%) of them were compensated solely through UI. In many European countries maternity benefits are paid at 95% of women's earnings, Canada's rate of 57% pales in comparison. These low rates are also a further disincentive for men to take equal responsibility for childrearing. While men are technically eligible for parental leave, estimates are that less than 5% actually use these provisions due to low compensation rates.

Poverty

As Conservative backbenchers try to hide poverty by proposing to change its definition, the number of poor people in Canada continues to rise. Growth in poverty rates are almost directly proportional with rising unemployment. There are 4,227,000 poor people in Canada. More than a quarter of them, 1,210,000 are children under the age of 18.

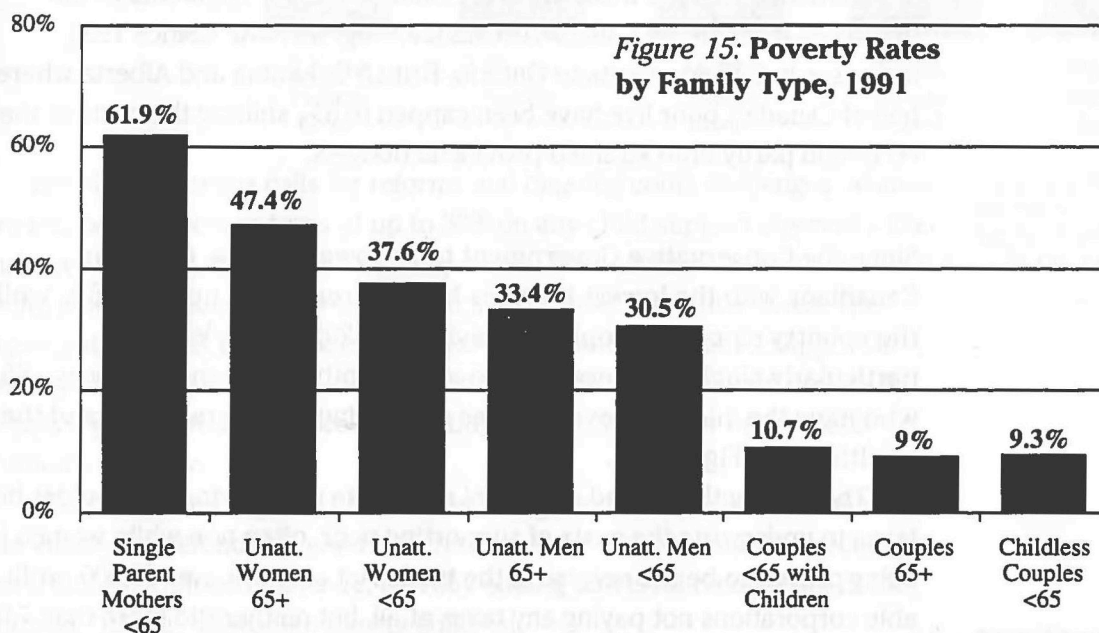
The rise in low-paying, part-time, service work, where women are concentrated, is showing its effects. Occupational poverty rates are highest for both

⁴⁶Documented by Centre for Spanish Speaking Peoples, Toronto

⁴⁷For A Just Cause, A UI Handbook produced for workers, by workers, PSAC/CEIU

single people (44.3%) and those supporting families (20.2%), in the services sector.

Sole support mothers are far more likely to be poor than any other type of family. 61.9% of single mothers are living under the poverty line and making an average of \$2,834 less than two years ago. One in five Canadian families are sole support families and eighty two percent of them are headed by women. An appalling 96% of single mothers who had no employment earnings were living on just over \$12,000 in 1991 - well below the poverty cut-offs. Most of this money came from family allowances, Unemployment Insurance, social assistance, pensions and the like⁴⁸.



Source: National Council of Welfare: Poverty File, Update for 1991

Table 9: Changing Family Incomes (incidence of poverty)

	1989	1990	1991
Two Parent Families with Children	\$61,644 (8.5%)	\$60,420 (9.6%)	\$59,014 (10.7%)
Lone Parent Families Headed by Women	\$25,020 (52.9%)	\$23,196 (60.6%)	\$22,186 (61.9%)
Single Women Elderly	\$16,929 (50.0%)	\$17,472 (47.1%)	\$17,304 (47.4%)
Non-Elderly	\$23,105 (34.5%)	\$23,290 (34.1%)	\$22,040 (37.6%)

Source: Statistics Canada
Cat No. 13-207, Income
Distributions by Size, 1991

⁴⁸Lone Parent Families, low incomes, Transition — March 1993

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While the poverty levels among unattached older women are marginally better at 47.4%, this still translates into close to half of all women over 65 not having enough to live on. While 85% of older men receive pension benefits, the figure for women is less than 50%.

More than one in three (37.6%) single women under 65 are poor. Poverty among two parent families seems much lower by comparison, but also increased from 8.5% to 10.7% between 1989 and 1991 (See Figure 15 and Table 9). The income of wives is critical. In 1990, 17.3% of two parent families would have been poor without the earnings of women.

More than 2.6 million people were on welfare in March 1992. Since March 1989, the recession has driven up welfare caseloads by 42%. The federal government's share of these costs are paid in transfer payments to the provinces through the Canada Assistance Program (CAP). Since 1990, increases in CAP payments to Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta where half of Canada's poor live have been capped to 5%, shifting the costs of the recession partly onto strained provincial budgets.

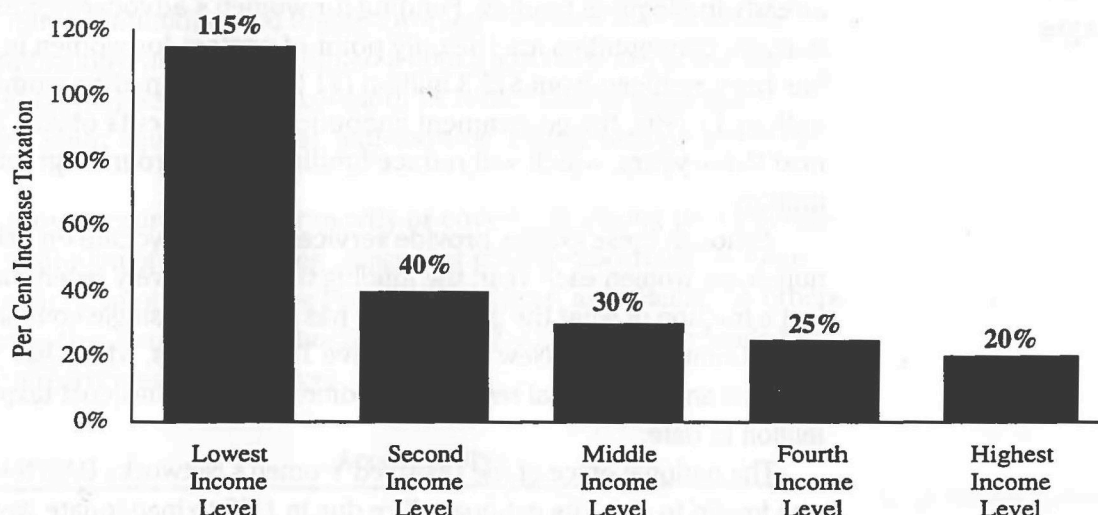
Taxation

Since the Conservative Government took power in 1984, taxes for Canadians with the lowest incomes have increased by nearly 115%, while the country's richest people are paying just 20% more. Women, particularly single mothers, single women both above and below age 65, who have the highest poverty rates are paying for the tax breaks of the wealthy (See Figure 16).

The frequently painted picture of rich white men having to shoulder high taxes to underwrite the costs of supporting poor, often non-white women is being proven to be the reverse of the truth. Not only are over 93,000 profitable corporations not paying any taxes at all, but neither did more than 7,000 people who earned more than fifty thousand dollars in 1989.

The reality is that since 1960 the tax burden has shifted from corporations and the wealthy to those with middle incomes and the poor. Through both sales and income taxes, individuals are paying for more than 70% of all federal tax revenues — that's 15% more than thirty years ago, while corporations are contributing just 7% — 13% less than they paid in 1960. (See Table 10) The GST, which now pays 23% of government revenues, has hit women, most of whom have to spend whatever little income they make on necessities, very hard. The tax credit designed to offset this does not nearly compensate for the higher costs to women. As well, it is not indexed to inflation and therefore is decreasing in real value and becoming more of a political token every year.

Figure 16: Per cent Increase in Taxation by Income Level, 1984 - 1990



Despite numerous calls for reforms and ongoing court challenges, women are still paying income taxes of up to 30% on any child support payments they manage to collect from their former spouses. Men continue to be rewarded by being able to deduct whatever payments they make from their taxes. The argument that this tax break encourages more men to pay child support is quickly erased by the facts - more than three quarters of men are in default. Penalizing women and overcompensating men is clearly not the route to women's equality.

Source: Income after tax distribution by size in Canada, 1990, Statistics Canada, CCPA Fast Facts 1992

Effective in January this year, the federal government axed the family allowance, the refundable child tax credit and the non-refundable dependant tax credit for children under 19, thereby ending universal recognition of the financial burden on women raising children.

Source: Finance Dept. Budget Documents, CCPA Fast Facts

In its place we now have a child tax benefit which, small in the first place, is only partially indexed to inflation and will be worth less with every passing year. Aimed at low income parents, the program is not only more vulnerable to political cuts, but also pays less to women who are not in paid jobs than to their working sisters by denying them access to a special supplement of \$500.

Common law spouses now come under new regulations that give them many of the same tax breaks as married couples, but there is still no recognition for lesbians regardless of how long they may have lived together or whether they co-parent.

Table 10 : Taxes as a Percentage of Total Revenue				
Year	Personal	Corporate	Sales	UI
1961-62	31.7	20.1	34.1	4.3
1971-72	43.8	14.5	28.1	3.4
1981-82	40.1	13.5	18.9	7.9
1988-89	44.3	11.3	22.2	10.8
1992-93	47.7	7.2	22.9	14.4

Cuts to Women's Groups

Many of the 400 women's groups who have been financed through the Secretary of State's Women's Program are in crisis over cuts to their already inadequate funding. Funding for women's advocacy groups, which in many communities are the only point of contact for women in trouble, has been reduced from \$12.3 million (\$1 for each Canadian woman) to \$10 million. In 1993, the government announced further cuts of 20% over the next three years, which will reduce funding to the program grants to \$9 million.

Although these groups provide services to and advocate on behalf of numerous women each year, the funding they collectively receive amounts to just a fraction of what the government has spent on a single commission. The Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies, which has yet to produce any substantial results or recommendations has cost taxpayers \$25 million to date.

The national office of the DisAbled Women's Network - DAWN Canada, was forced to close its national office due in 1993 to inadequate government support. Women of colour groups, many of which are just now in the process of applying for public dollars to support their work, are forced into a competition with existing organizations for a shrinking pot.

With the new Prime Minister publicly taking a position against the funding of advocacy groups, the question is who will fall into this category? Contrary to popular misconception, grants to women's and social justice groups are far lower than subsidies to businesses, sports associations and private lobbies. Pratt and Whitney Canada Inc. alone received \$54,076,845⁵¹. The list continues: Boeing of Canada Technology Ltd was funded to the tune of \$1,894,297; Pound-maker Ethanol Ltd - \$3 million; The Canadian Manufacturing Association - \$675,000; Bell Northern Research Ltd and The Canadian Volleyball Association were both granted over a million dollars each; Inglis Ltd - \$2.5 million; Pilsbury/Green Giant of Canada Ltd. - \$321,337; The Winnipeg Commodity exchange - \$486,647; to name just a few.

The slow and steady slicing of financing for women's groups is a clear political decision, leaving women's centres spending large amounts of time on fundraising activities, diverting their energies away from the work of improving the condition of women.

Abortion Access

The efforts of the Conservative government to re-criminalize abortion in Canada failed when the Senate defeated the bill in January 1991. In the process, a number of doctors who feared criminal prosecution stopped performing the procedure. Women seeking abortions and doctors who perform the procedure are still being harassed at their offices, clinics, hospitals and homes. This has discouraged other doctors from offering the service. Abortion access has yet to recover to pre-1990 levels.

⁵¹Numbers in this paragraph are taken from *The Globe & Mail*, Editorial page, April 30, 1993.

Free standing abortion clinics have been hit particularly hard by violent attacks from anti-choice groups. Despite anti-choice forces' continued attempts to harass, intimidate and frighten women who need abortions, the abortion rights movement has mounted a consistent defense-protecting women and keeping services open. In April 1993 the Ontario government applied for a court injunction to ban anti-abortion activity outside abortion clinics.

Many provinces are still either overtly or covertly opposing the establishment and operation of free standing clinics that provide abortions. In some cases through attempts to stop the operation of clinics, as in Halifax, in others by not paying the costs of clinic abortions, leaving women to raise funds from their own, already meagre, resources.

Province	Accessibility
B.C	2 clinics in Vancouver are receiving government funding as of March 1992. 33 regional hospitals were required to provide abortion services.
Alberta	Hospital abortions paid for, but clinic abortions only partially subsidized (paying less than 25% of costs). 2 hospitals in Calgary, one in Edmonton and one in Grande Prairie officially perform abortions. 2 clinics, one in Edmonton and one in Calgary.
Saskatchewan	Hospital abortions are paid for but few hospitals provide the service. A 1991 plebiscite to prohibit medicare funding for abortion was deemed illegal by the provincial government. Women's Health Centre opened in the Regina General Hospital, July 1992, offers abortion services.
Manitoba	Hospital abortions available only in Winnipeg. 1 Clinic in Winnipeg. The province's refusal to pay for clinic abortions was turned over by the courts, but government is planning legislation to counter this.

Source: Canadian Abortion Rights Action League, 1993

Ontario

Services withdrawn or decreased in Brockville, Kitchener, Cambridge, Owen Sound Mississauga, York Region, Peel North and Scarborough. 4 clinics in Toronto. Morgentaler clinic was destroyed by bomb in May 1992, but re-opened in early 1993.

Quebec

Access concentrated in Montreal. Province pays for hospital abortions but only partially pays for clinic abortions. 4 clinics in Montreal. Fully paid abortions also performed at 3 women's health centres and 12 provincial community health centres. (CLSC's).

New Brunswick

Access restricted to 3 hospitals in the south of the province and performed for local women only. Abortions no longer available in St. John. 40% of Halifax clinic abortions are for New Brunswick women. Province will only pay for abortion approved by two doctors and performed by a gynaecologist in a hospital.

Nova Scotia

Abortions in hospitals paid for but clinic abortions only subsidized for doctor's fee. Long waits reported at hospital in Halifax. 1 clinic in Halifax.

P.E.I.

No hospital in P.E.I. performs abortions. Out-of-province abortions are not funded through medicare. Dr. Morgentaler is planning a court challenge to the province's refusal to pay for Island women's abortions at the Halifax clinic.

Newfoundland

One hospital in St. John's offers limited abortion services. 1 clinic in St. John's. The province pays for doctors' fees at the clinic as of late 1992.

Territories

Access is restricted to major centres, although travel is paid and waiting times are short. Recommendations by Government Inquiry in June 1992 include extension of abortion service to 3 new hospitals.

Health

If attacks by conservative, anti-life forces on women's right to access abortions are the most overt sign that society has yet to concede women's right to control our bodies, the covert status, lack of attention and

resources to women's health issues is the proof. As social, economic and environmental pressures build in society, women — the formal and informal caregivers — are the medical casualties. And the system of healthcare to which they must turn is steadily being privatized and eroded.

By the year 2004, the federal government will be contributing \$0 in direct funding to medicare, down from \$9 billion in 1991. Provinces who are expected to pick up the tab are in turn "restructuring" healthcare delivery to save costs. In the past number of months, user fees have crept into the medicare system. Medicare has been cut for refugee claimants in Ontario. Quebec is now charging emergency fees to patients whose ailments are diagnosed as not urgent. Saskatchewan is charging ambulance fees. The trend is growing, despite growing public protest and warnings from the World Health Organization that user fees save little in government spending and hit poor people hardest. While middle and upper income earners can rely on extended health plans to pick up the extra costs, it is women, among the poorest of Canadians, who will pay for these policies.

As provinces de-list services from medicare plans, they are also cutting back the number of doctors they will licence in a given year. Family practice, psychiatry and pediatrics, where doctors and clients are both largely women are among the areas most likely to be affected. If there is a silver lining, it may be that the shift away from physician dominated care could promote more use of alternative healthcare methods and thus shift towards the holistic approach to healthcare supported by the feminist movement. One positive step has been the licensing of midwives in Ontario & Quebec with similar steps being considered in B.C. and Alberta.

Another small step was the federal government's decision to allocate some additional funds to breast cancer research. Funding for research however, is nowhere near adequate for the magnitude of the problem. The leading cause of death among women aged 35 - 49, breast cancer takes the lives of 5,000 women each year. One in nine women, or 15,000 cases, of breast cancer are diagnosed annually. The survival rate for women with breast cancer has not changed significantly in 30 years. Prevention of this disease is far from being a reality.

The most serious threat posed to women's control of our bodies and reproductive capacities is the development of new reproductive technologies. Taken as a whole, these technologies move us towards a geneticized model of health care which ignores the social, economic and environmental factors which affect the health of individuals. While technologies such as In Vitro Fertilization are sold to us as a "miracle", the side effects of these costly and experimental technologies continue to remain unaddressed. The failure rate of IVF has been estimated at 85% according to the World Health Organization. In

1990 the Canadian Government spent \$3.5 million on research in reproductive technology and only \$400,000 on public health research into the causes of infertility. Instead of spending money on preventing infertility, which would help the majority, millions are spent on technologies which help the few.

NRTs range from artificial insemination to genetic intervention. The profit motive drives the development and proliferation of these technologies as women's voices and concerns continue to remain marginalized. Genetic technologies shift the practice of medicine away from healing human beings to the fabrication of potential human life. Money is being spent to facilitate genetic preselection to ensure that an embryo with "undesirable" characteristics will not be born. Eugenic values therefore become "undesirable" human characteristics. Women of colour, women with disabilities and poor women continue to remain the most vulnerable as racist and classist values determine the nature and shape of the technologies.

The Royal Commission on NRTs has delayed its report yet again, even as the provision of these technologies continue to increase. More than a year and a half ago, four of the original Commissioners were fired by the Prime Minister's Office after they claimed in court that the Commission was not respecting the mandate for which it was created. As we await the release of the Commission's report, the credibility of which has been seriously undermined by the firings of the Commissioners, the lives and bodies of women and children continue to be experimented upon by NRTs.

Women of colour, poor women and third world women, already the market of choice for sex selection technology, will be the most likely candidates for jobs as low-paid wombs in third party pregnancies for rich, "fast track" couples to have their own children without interrupting their lives and careers. As well, much research is geared towards the notion of creating "perfect" babies which has its roots in nazi philosophy and is inherently racist and devaluing of people with disabilities.

Violence

While a greater public profile has been given to issues surrounding violence against women in recent years, battering, abuse, sexual and racial harassment and other forms of threat and violation by men of women are continuing at intolerable levels. Women are not safe in the home, the workplace, the street, in schools or in public venues.

One in four women are victims of sexual assault, half before the age of seventeen. Although these are the official statistics, women's groups and researchers believe the numbers are much higher. Their experience indicates that well over half of all women have experienced some form of male violence

⁵²Results of a Gallop Poll, as reported in *The Toronto Star*, May 8, 1993.

in their lives, whether it be sexual harassment, sexual assault, incest or battering. It is estimated that up to 90% of women have, at some point, been harassed on the job. Despite the visibility of this issue and efforts by some unions to take positive steps in contracts and worker education campaigns, women continue to be the brunt of behaviour that is demeaning and threatening. Three out of four Canadian women consider workplace sexual harassment to be a serious problem and 68% of all Canadians agree that this is correct assessment⁵².

All women live with the threat of violence in their lives, but for some groups of women the situation is even more acute than others. Aboriginal women and women of colour who are exposed to both racial and sexual harassment are particularly vulnerable. 53% of women born with disabilities have been raped, abused or assaulted. Prostitutes experience an average of five rapes a year.

Police estimate that only 10% of assaults are currently reported. According to rape crisis centres, only one in ten women who report assaults to them access the justice system. In 1990⁵³, 32,861 sexual assaults were reported in Canada. 99% of accused assailants in sexual assaults are men and 92.5% of

Sexual Assault

Table 11: Distribution of Sexual Assault Reports, 1983-1990

Year	Sexual Assault Level			Total
	Source: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics	Sexual Assault (S.271)	Sexual Assault with a Weapon...*	
1983	12,241 (88%)	925 (7%)	685 (5%)	13,851
1984	15,805 (91%)	878 (5%)	640 (4%)	17,323
1985	19,756 (93%)	918 (4%)	590 (3%)	21,264
1986	22,623 (93%)	1,001 (4%)	490 (3%)	24,114
1987	24,949 (94%)	1,034 (4%)	460 (2%)	26,443
1988	27,655 (95%)	1,041 (4%)	415 (1%)	29,111
1989	30,340 (96%)	971 (3%)	445 (1%)	31,756
1990	31,401 (96%)	1,024 (3%)	436 (1%)	32,861

Source: Canadian Centre For Justice Statistics

*...Threats to a Third Party, or Causing Bodily Harm (S.272)

all sexual assault victims are women. Although reporting of sexual assaults has increased steadily since 1983, it is still difficult to determine how much of this can be attributed to an increase in the number of assaults taking place.

⁵³Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics

⁵⁴Unless otherwise indicated, all statistics in this section are from the Government of Canada Standing Committee on Women, The War on Women, 1991

Most women know their assailant. Between 63% and 83% of female victims know the males who sexually assault them⁵⁴. Every year one in ten women is physically and/ or sexually assaulted by a husband, ex-husband or live-in partner. A woman is hit by her husband or partner an average of thirty times before she even calls the police. Approximately 60% of women who are assaulted by their husbands are injured and 20% require medical attention.

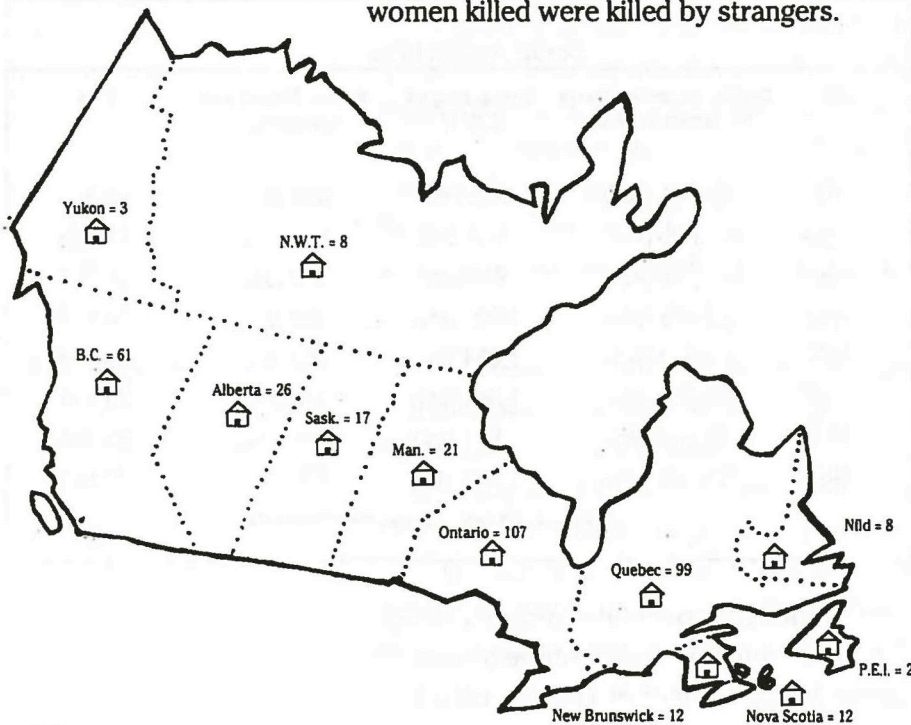
A study of reports collected from 13 police departments between 1988 and 1991 indicates that sexual assault is heavily directed at girls and young women, and that the younger the victim the more likely an assault will be sexual. At least 40% of all sexual assaults were on children aged 11 or younger, and another 40% were on young people aged 12-19. In 48% of cases, assaults on children were by family members, Only 8% were assaults by strangers⁵⁵.

Murder

Map 1: Provincial Distribution of Battered Women's Shelters and Facilities.

The number of women murdered is going up every year. In 1991, 270 women were victims of homicide in Canada, up from 237 in 1990 and 202 in 1988⁵⁶. Use of guns is becoming more frequent in the deaths. 85 of the women killed in 1991 were shot, 67 were stabbed, 52 died of beating, 38 were strangled and 15 were burned.

The vast majority of women are killed by people they know. Of the 225 women whose murders were solved, 121 died at the hands of their intimate partner. Another 86 women were killed by acquaintances. In all, only 17 women killed were killed by strangers.



Services for Survivors: Shelters

In sharp contrast to Hollywood's image of large numbers of women killers on the loose, less than 9% of male victims of homicide were killed by their intimate partners. Out of a total of 632 homicide suspects, only 60 or 9.4% of them were women. As a result of the efforts of community based women's groups over the past twenty years, some services for battered and assaulted women

⁵⁵Statistics Canada report from Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, reported in *The Globe and Mail*, March 24, 1992

⁵⁶All statistics in this paragraph from: *Homicide Survey, Policing Services Program*, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, October 1992

Rape crisis centres are typically functioning with large numbers of volunteers, few resources and severely limited funds for paid staff. According to the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence there are 83 rape crisis/ sexual assault support centres in Canada.

Housing

Safe, accessible, secure and affordable housing is less available to Canadians in this recession. Many individual incomes are less secure or not adequate to provide decent housing. Women and children are affected first, and hardest, by inadequate housing.

At least 57% of Canadian women are renters, compared to 30% of men. Because women's incomes are lower, about 46% of women renters pay 30% or more of their income to shelter costs, compared to 27% of men renters.

Affordable housing is critical for younger women who are single parents, women who are working in low paid job ghettos and older women attempting to survive on meagre pensions benefits. The lack of sufficient non-profit housing units forces thousands of women to pay a disproportionate amount of their income for shelter.

In the 1992-93 federal budget, the government eliminated its cooperative housing program. There are 200,000 people living in 70,000 households in low-cost cooperative housing units in Canada. Of these, 16,170 households are headed by women. The loss of this program will mean that one significant option for secure, low cost housing is no longer available for working poor and older women.

Refugee Women

Although, three quarters of the world's refugees are women, the majority of refugees admitted into Canada are men⁵⁸. Changes to the Immigration and Refugee Board guidelines, announced in March, allowing refugee claims based on gender persecution, were an important but limited victory for women's groups. The new definition applies only to refugees that are applying within Canada and thereby limits large numbers of vulnerable women who are in refugee camps or still in danger outside Canada from applying through Canadian visa offices abroad. Nearly half of all refugees granted status in Canada each year come from these visa offices or private sponsorships.

Unpublished research by Monica Boyd of Florida State University shows that in 1991 & 1992, for every 1,000 women accepted into Canada as refugees, more than 1,700 men were admitted.

⁵⁸Gender Issues and Refugees, A conference at York University as reported in *The Toronto Star*, May 1993

The reflections of our reality as portrayed through the media continue to reinforce sexist and racist images of women. Older women, women with disabilities and lesbians remain absent in media industries.

Media Representation

Women overall are seriously under-represented in Canada's mainstream media networks. Whether in the print dailies, weeklies, radio or television, whether as producers, subjects, or audiences, women have little control over Canada's powerful media outlets. Low numbers of women producers, writers and decision makers, in turn perpetuate the continued portrayal of women in sexualized and stereotypical roles in both programming and advertising.

MediaWatch monitored race and gender roles in Canadian television dramas in the fall season 1992. Out of a total of 1,295

Table 12: Percentage of Women in Broadcast Media Positions

	1984		1988	
	%Fr.	%Eng.	%Fr.	%Eng.
TV news announcers	31	36	39	45
Tv news reports	26	20	28	27
TV sports programs, staff	2	1	2	8
TV adult drama characters	41	37	39	35
Voiceovers in TV ads	13	22	14	23
Radio announcers	12	14	22	23
Mentions in radio news	10	8	7	8
Voiceovers in radio ads	10	14	14	19
Characters in radio ads	38	44	24	29

Table 13: MediaWatch 1993 Survey of Canadian Newspapers

Newspaper	% of bylines female	1990	1991	1992	1993
Vancouver Sun		38	31	29	37
The Province (Van)		20	34	27	47
Globe & Mail (Nat'l ed)		29	23	22	19
Toronto Star		30	28	31	26
The Gazette (mnt'l)		35	32	27	31
Evening Telegram (St. J)		30	27	26	32

Source: Erin. *Study on Gender Stereotyping in the Canadian Broadcast Media*, December 1990

Table 13: MediaWatch 1993 Survey of Canadian Newspapers

Newspaper	% references female	1990	1991	1992	1993
Vancouver Sun		18	20	22	25
The Province (Van)		18	20	18	21
Globe & Mail (Nat'l ed)		13	9	15	21
Toronto Star		18	16	20	28
The Gazette (mnt'l)		21	20	22	19
Evening Telegram (St. J)		14	17	19	18

Source: MediaWatch, *Two Years of Sexism in Canadian Newspapers*, May 1990

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