

**THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO THE YUKON 2000  
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY**

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The Government of Yukon has clearly stated that the purpose of the Economic Development Strategy planning process is to bring Yukon people together to develop a better understanding of "the economic realities of today, the prospects for the future and the possibilities for co-operative action."<sup>1</sup> Since the process will provide guidance to all sectors of the economy as well as setting the framework for government departments in policy development and expenditure of funds, it is important that women be fully integrated into the planning process and into the strategies and initiatives that are proposed to promote the economic development of the Yukon to the year 2000.

As a basis for economic planning efforts in the various sectors of the Yukon economy, reviews were conducted in twelve different areas, including the non-wage sector. Working groups for each sector held workshops and the reports of their deliberations were presented at the Yukon 2000 conference, held in Whitehorse in November 1986.

In addition, a number of "linkage studies" were commissioned for the conference, covering specific issues and concerns in areas requiring study. These papers were intended to synthesize past work and provide stimulation and momentum for further work on the particular topic.

The 27 studies and papers presented at the November 1986 conference are listed below:

Sectoral Reviews

1. Mining
2. Tourism

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<sup>1</sup> Government of Yukon, Economic Development: Mines and Small Business, Yukon 2000: Building the Future, A Public Discussion Paper, September 1986, p. 58.

3. Forestry
  4. Hunting, Trapping, Guiding
  5. Fishing
  6. Manufacturing
  7. Construction and Housing
  8. Trades and Services
  9. Agriculture, Food Production and Distribution
  10. Non-Wage Economy
  11. Cultural Industries
  12. Community Consultation
- Linkage Studies
13. Financial Institutions
  14. Yukon Training Strategy
  15. Yukon Diversification: Benefits and Possibilities
  16. Transportation
  17. Communications: Broadcasting and Telecommunications
  18. Resource Management in the Yukon
  19. Research and Development
  20. Participation in the Economy of Youth, Seniors and  
Handicapped/Disabled
  21. Women in the Yukon Economy: A Blueprint for the Future
  22. Indian Participation in the Economy
  23. Report on Energy
  24. Municipal Infrastructure
  25. Housing Infrastructure
  26. Government as an Economic Force
  27. Small Business and the Yukon

This paper reviews the sectoral and linkage papers with a view to determining to what extent the needs and concerns of women have been taken into account in the preparation of the background documentation for the Yukon 2000 conference as well as in the strategies and solutions proposed.

The first 12 papers represent the reports of working groups established to review various sectors of the Yukon economy. These groups included representatives of interest groups, knowledgeable professionals and interested parties, including key community people. Relevant government departments and the Yukon Economic Council were consulted on the composition of the working groups. There is no information on the involvement of women or representatives of women's organizations in these working groups. Their mandate was to discuss issues affecting development in each sector and to present a series of options, with input from relevant government departments, for the enhancement of development of the particular sector.

The sectoral papers are relatively brief, generally presenting the results of the group discussions in point form. For the purposes of this review, brief comments on how each addresses the needs and concerns of women are presented where relevant. The linkage papers will be reviewed in more detail.

### **1. Mining**

According to this report, mining is a major contributor to the Yukon economy and will remain so for the foreseeable future. The high cost of labour adds significantly to operating costs, says the report, which sees high wages and benefits and a small labour pool as major factors in labour costs.

As a solution to labour problems, the report states that:

Companies should put more effort into the recruitment of people who would be happy in the north rather than pay higher wages and benefits to entice southerners up here with resulting high turnover rate. Along with this, a greater effort should be made to develop the locally available labour pool through training and other means. These people would represent a stable work force, but this may require some adjustment in labour relations philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

The report does not mention the possibility that the local labour pool would be considerably enlarged if women could be considered for some of the jobs, even though employment in mining is usually thought of as men's work. At the 1981 census, 85% of those employed in metal mines and 82% of those employed in services to mining were men.<sup>3</sup>

Training of women for non-traditional occupations has been achieved successfully in other jurisdictions. In British Columbia, for example, the Fording Coal Company implemented a successful affirmative action program, to train women in various mining and ancillary occupations that had previously been filled only by men. The pressure for change came initially from women employees themselves because many of them were single-parent heads of families and they found they could not support their families on the salaries they were able to earn as secretaries and clerical workers. Such experiences in other regions might serve as a model for similar programs in Yukon.

## **2. Tourism**

There is no mention in this paper of the role women play in tourism, although the group noted that the strategy should provide opportunities for native involvement in a range of tourism businesses.

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<sup>2</sup> Yukon Development Strategy - Mining, October 1986, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Boothroyd and H. Craig Davis, Yukon Diversification: Benefits and Possibilities, Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, Appendix 2, Table 3.

There is general consensus on the importance of tourism to the Yukon economy, especially since the collapse of hard rock mining. The fact that tourism, although seasonal, is less cyclical than mining has contributed significantly to the stability of the Yukon economy, according to the public discussion paper issued for the Yukon 2000 conference, which also discusses the tourism strategy.<sup>4</sup> That document notes that:

Further stability and growth can be achieved by promoting locally controlled tourist development including accomodation, outfitting and tours and the increased use of local materials and services. This will tend to reduce the seasonality of the industry since management and material production are more year-round activities. Such a shift would also raise the average wages in jobs resulting from tourism, since at present most of the work-force is concentrated in the "accomodation and food service" employment group where wages are relatively low.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that 68% of those employed in accomodation and food are women<sup>6</sup> is undoubtedly the main reason why the wages are low. What the discussion paper seems to imply is that average wages in tourism could be increased by adding in some higher-paid occupations, such as outfitting, and wilderness tour guiding, most of which would likely be done by men.

If the commitment of Yukon 2000 to achieving equality is to be met, greater efforts will have to be made to ensure that women are integrated on a full and equal basis in the tourism sector. This might mean training, special management programs, assistance and incentives for them to operate their own tourist businesses, and so on. But before any of this can happen, a more careful analysis of women's role in tourism will be required. There is no

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<sup>4</sup> Building the Future, A Public Discussion Paper prepared by Government of Yukon, Economic Development: Mines and Small Business, September 1986, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Supra note 3.

evidence in the Tourism paper that the working group for this sector has considered this issue.

### **3. Forestry**

Yukon's forest industry is operating at far below its full capacity, with output in 1985 generated from about 20 small-scale operations. This paper considers how the expansion of local markets might provide a stimulus for the expansion of forestry in Yukon, especially if wood is increasingly used for home heating. Developing the industry is difficult at the moment because of the uncertainties caused by lack of settlement of land claims. These uncertainties contribute to the high risk and increased costs associated with developing the industry. However, the paper notes that there may be significant opportunities in the research and development side of the forestry industry.

There are no obvious issues of concern to women in the paper, with the possible exception of educational and research opportunities, which like all other such opportunities in Yukon should be equally accessible to women as well as men. Only 90 people were employed in forestry when the 1981 census was taken and of these, 70 were men.<sup>7</sup>

### **4. Hunting, Trapping and Guiding**

Estimates of the economic value of this sector vary from a low of \$5 million to a high of \$10 million, depending on the method used, what is included in the valuation, and the particular year in question. The total value of fur production in 1985 was estimated at about \$1 million.<sup>8</sup> The paper describes the existing economic uses of wildlife and outlines some of the constraints and opportunities available in hunting, trapping and guiding.

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<sup>7</sup> Supra note 3.

<sup>8</sup> Supra note 4, p. 45.

There appear to be no issues of particular concern to women. Subsistence uses of wildlife are dealt with in a separate paper.

### **5. Fishing**

This paper reviews Yukon's fish resources, including both sport and commercial fisheries, as well as native and domestic subsistence fisheries. Questions of limits and constraints to growth are discussed. Four general proposals to overcome these constraints came out of the workshops held on this sector. These related to research, enhancement of natural systems through stocking, fish farming, and international co-operation to ensure better access for Yukoners to salmon resources.

There are no issues of obvious concern to women. However, if the Government decides to pursue the proposals to undertake research and develop aquaculture, opportunities for the employment of women might be created. The situation could be monitored to ensure that women are able to participate equally in these activities.

### **6. Manufacturing**

The manufacturing sector is not a major part of the Yukon economy. It provided employment for 340 people when the 1981 census of population was taken. Just over 63% of those employed in manufacturing were men. Most of the men employed in this sector worked in wood industries and in food and beverages. Most of the women worked in printing and publishing (where women outnumbered men) and in "other manufacturing" - a category where the products manufactured were not specified and where the number of women employed was about the same as the number of men.<sup>9</sup>

The concerns of women are not addressed in the paper, although a number of issues are raised in which women could have a stake. The issue of

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<sup>9</sup> Supra note 3.

financing for manufacturers is raised, for example, and the workshop participants observed that the established banking community is very reluctant to give new establishing manufacturers the lines of credit needed for them to fully exploit their market. Although none of the manufacturers present represented rurally based companies, they felt that limited access to capital was a constraint to rurally-based manufacturing facilities.

Access to capital has also been a particular problem for women who want to start businesses, as research in other areas has shown. The solutions proposed in the workshop to help manufacturers get financing - such as government-guaranteed loans or direct government loans to rural manufacturing businesses - would also be appropriate remedies for the particular problems women face in financing businesses, but these do not seem to have been considered in the workshop.

The question of women's access to capital for financing business ventures is discussed in more detail in the reviews of the linkage papers on financial institutions and small business.

The workshop also noted the lack of trained competent labour to function as part of the manufacturing process and recommended that apprenticeship programs be improved and expanded and tied more closely to the manufacturer's needs. If this proposal is adopted, it will be important to make sure that special efforts are made to include young women in the programs.

Although not mentioned in the workshop report, the public discussion paper prepared for Yukon 2000 ("Building the Future") also notes that work on developing the Yukon arts and crafts industry is underway and must be carefully co-ordinated with the Development Strategy. This is an obvious

area for strong input from women and it must be assumed that the government will actively seek their participation.

## **7. Construction and Housing**

This paper discusses the construction industry with special reference to housing construction. There is emphasis on the transient nature of Yukon's population, which makes it difficult to establish a stable market for housing. As well, many of those who work in construction are transient workers who migrate to the Yukon from areas where construction activity is depressed and return home again in late fall or early winter.

Construction is a predominantly male activity. At the time of the 1981 census, 90% of those working in this sector were men.<sup>10</sup> The workshop participants reported serious shortages of skilled workers, so that in some trades there are no longer qualified people available locally. Very small numbers are enrolled in apprenticeship programs, indicating that they intend to make a career in construction. As the report notes:

Unions have historically been a driving and supportive force behind the apprenticeship programs. With the percentage of unionized companies shrinking, the trend in building trades has been to hire helpers instead of apprentices. The helper does not necessarily make a commitment to learn a trade and may or may not at some time in the future obtain trade certification.<sup>11</sup>

Programs to encourage women to train for non-traditional occupations have been instituted in other regions with some success. This might also be a possibility for the Yukon. The workshop apparently did not discuss it, but the potential for this approach to the problem of skilled labour shortages in construction would be worth investigation.

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<sup>10</sup> Supra note 3.

<sup>11</sup> Construction and Housing, p. 7.

The special concerns of women in the area of housing are discussed in more detail in the review of the linkage paper on Housing Infrastructure.

### **8. Trades and Services**

This review of service industries excludes government and tourism, which are the main components of the service sector in Yukon, and focuses only on trade and transportation. It is based on the premise that service sector activities are dependent on the goods producing sector of the economy, so that if those sectors are not doing well, the service sector would not prosper either.

The view that services are largely a spin-off from primary activities (such as mining and forestry) and secondary activities (such as manufacturing and construction) is one that is being increasingly challenged as Canada moves towards a post-industrial or information economy. Many analysts believe that service sector activities do not necessarily have to depend on a thriving primary and secondary sector.

A recent study of the service sector in Ontario, for example, noted that by far the greatest employment growth in the service sector over the past four decades has been not in such mainly consumer services as restaurants, cleaners or barbershops, but in comparatively knowledge-intensive producer or business services such as finance, insurance, real estate, computer services, accounting, advertising, architects, engineering and scientific services, management consultants and services to business management.

According to this study:

There appears to be no persuasive basis for a view that services are somehow inherently inferior to goods production as a form of wealth creation - in terms of being somehow less "real," valuable or desirable - in today's economy. Nor would it be accurate to perceive the service sector as a mere "by-product" of manufacturing. Only about 35 per cent of the total output of intermediate services goes to the

manufacturing and primary sectors; the remaining 65 per cent goes to other services.<sup>12</sup>

Even the Yukon's own experience challenges the conventional wisdom.

The paper on trade and services notes that:

Given the dependency of the service and trade industries on the primary and secondary sector, one would expect the service and trade industries to follow market trends in the primary and secondary sector. Slightly different results have occurred in the Yukon. Between 1981 and 1985 there were approximately 1,300 jobs lost from the goods producing industries, while only 850 jobs were lost from the service producing industries and there was some growth in the accomodation industry. The largest contributing factor to this trend is the dependency of the service industries on government and growth in tourism.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, the Government's own strategy of developing tourism (a service industry) to offset employment and output losses in mining (a primary industry) is evidence that a thriving service sector can exist even when primary or secondary sectors are declining. Trade and transportation, for example, could continue to develop to serve the tourism industry or the government sector, even if mining or other primary and secondary sector industries are declining.

The debate is particularly important for women in the Yukon economy (and elsewhere) because 82% of all employment for women in the Yukon is in the service sector. At the 1981 census, for instance, close to 60% of women in the Yukon work force were in wholesale and retail trade; finance insurance and real estate; and community, business and personal services. Another 22% worked for various levels of government.<sup>14</sup> If one accepts the

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<sup>12</sup> George Radwanski, Ontario Study of the Service Sector, Government of Ontario, Ministry of Treasury and Economics, December 1986, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Trades and Services, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Supra note 3.

argument that service jobs will follow automatically as a spin-off from primary and secondary activities, then one might also argue that nothing needs to be done to create jobs in the service sector. The consequences of this approach would be that women's employment would be left to chance, in the hope that jobs for them would materialize when the primary and secondary sectors of the Yukon economy, (mining and construction, for example), are thriving. Economic development strategies often include job creation initiatives for these sectors, but the vast majority of those employed there are men. If we accept the argument that service sector jobs will not just happen as a spin-off from other sectors, then employment opportunities for women will not be created unless attention is specifically focused on the service sector, which is where most women work.

The public discussion paper ("Building the Future") issued for the Yukon 2000 Fall conference, points out that within the Yukon less attention has been paid to the service sector compared to the primary industries. It also notes that consulting services alone account for approximately \$3 million in the Yukon economy and options for encouraging Yukon-based research have hardly been considered. Efforts to establish a Yukon Science Centre have been the subject of major federal/territorial/Yukon Science Institute discussions over the past year or so.

Careful review of the service sector as part of the Development Strategy is advocated in the public discussion paper. Part of that review should be special attention to the employment of women in the service sector and how their position can be improved. A study of the Alaskan economy, for example, suggested that:

the type of person attracted to resource areas, by the opportunity for making money through high wages and/or real estate speculation, is generally not interested in starting up a service or trade business.<sup>15</sup>

But the person likely to move to the north in search of high wages is in all probability a man (women, by and large, don't get high wages in the resource sector or have money to engage in real estate speculation). If we assume that he is married, and that, given the likely age bracket he will be in, his wife will participate in the labour force (as do more than 67% of Yukon women), then it could well be that his wife would be very interested in "starting up a service or trade business" if she could get the kind of financing she needs. (Women's access to capital for small business operations is discussed elsewhere in this paper.)

It is this kind of possibility that does not seem to have been considered in the analysis of the service sector. But if the Yukon 2000 goal of achieving equality is to be realized, those who are developing strategies for the service sector must take into account the important role played by women in that sector, both as employees and as potential business owners.

#### **9. Agriculture, Food Processing, Food Distribution**

There are about 30 full-time and 75 part-time farmers in Yukon at the present time. This paper discusses the problems they face in food production and marketing their produce. There are no issues of particular concern to women.

#### **10. The Non-Wage Economy**

Women are major participants in the non-wage economy and their role receives detailed attention throughout this paper. The non-wage economy was divided into three segments for the purposes of workshop

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<sup>15</sup> Supra note 13, p. 3.

discussion: the country food harvest, volunteer work and housework. There are a number of points that might be raised in response to the discussion summarized in this paper:

□ The paper notes the significant role of volunteer work in Yukon communities. It also describes recent studies that have found a decline in the numbers of those who participate in volunteer activity, although there is no research that would establish whether or not this trend observed at the national level is also evident in Yukon.

It is perhaps not just coincidental that volunteer activity has been declining along with the increased participation of women in the work force. In the past, much of the volunteer activity within communities was undertaken by married women who did not work outside the home, and who may have had available time to work as volunteers while their children were at school. The latest data at the national level, however, show that more than 70% of the younger generation of married women (those between the ages of 20 and 44) are working outside their homes.<sup>16</sup> Since most married women in Yukon fall within that age bracket, it could well be that the pool of available people to volunteer has been shrinking.

Measures that will encourage and support volunteers would thus be particularly welcome. However, failure to recognize the changed circumstances could have serious consequences. As the paper notes, in some jurisdictions, government cutbacks have resulted in a deliberate policy of reducing public sector wage costs by increased reliance on volunteers to provide needed social services that were previously supplied by governments and provided jobs for public sector workers. Such policies,

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<sup>16</sup> Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1986, Table 56.

which set dedicated volunteers against unemployed public sector workers, may obviously be divisive in a community.

On a minor point, one might argue with the statement in the paper that while Yukon volunteers undertake advocacy activities,

In most other parts of the country this activity is provided by academics who can criticize government with impunity.<sup>17</sup>

This is certainly not true of the women's movement. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women, for example, is probably one of the most successful advocacy groups in the country. An umbrella organization for about 500 women's groups, NAC has successfully advocated on behalf of women without having to use academics as spokespersons.

□ The discussion on housework focused on increasing opportunities to undertake housework and move back and forth between housework and the market place. The disadvantages of this approach are that those who are continuously in and out of the work force (mostly women) end up with discontinuous work patterns, lower earnings, fewer opportunities for advancement and promotion, and may have great difficulty in supporting a family if they are the sole parent. Statistical data indicate that most women now do not move frequently in and out of the work force. With fertility rates now down to less than 1.7 children per woman, many women may have only one child.

Some of the measures suggested in the report would alleviate some of the problems faced by women while their children are young. Paid parental leave, adequate child care facilities, and leave to care for children when they are ill or when the child's usual caregiver may be unavailable, are all

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<sup>17</sup> The Non-Wage Economy, p. 11.

measures that assist parents to combine paid employment with family responsibilities.

It must be emphasized that the majority of parents with young children are now faced with this dilemma. As a strategy to help them do this, the report suggests job sharing and support for part-time workers. Both of these work time arrangements, however, effectively penalize parents, because they imply less than full-time earnings for those workers with young children.

The report does not mention, as a longer-term strategy, the possibility of challenging the way in which work has been defined. The definition of paid employment in our industrialized society is one that was based on the "traditional family," where the person who was expected to be at work from nine to five every day (and to work overtime as and when required) was the husband. Staying at home and taking care of the children was the wife's role. These expectations are no longer appropriate, given that in most families with young children, both spouses are in the paid work force.

Initiatives developed in other countries, such as in Sweden, allow parents with young children to work a shorter day at no loss of earnings. Such measures recognize the importance of children in our society and allow for parenting to be a shared responsibility between both parents (at least in two-parent families). They move towards changing the definition of paid work to fit with the new reality of family life, and they do not impose a financial penalty on parents. In the longer-term, such strategies may be more positive for families and for women and men with children.

The paper suggests that extending pension coverage to homemakers will "increase the options of financial security for those active in the non-

wage economy." There are many who would disagree with this statement. The current proposals to allow women who are not in the work force to contribute directly to the Canada Pension Plan are not supported by the labour movement, nor by various anti-poverty groups, nor by a number of women's organizations. A full discussion of this controversial issue is beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>18</sup> However, a number of key points should be made:

i) A woman's decision on whether or not to enter the work force while her children are young is made on the basis of her need for income at that time. The promise of a pension at age 65 will not enable her to remain at home as a full-time homemaker when she is 30.

ii) A woman who has spent her life as a full-time homemaker does in fact get a pension under the current system. She will get Old Age Security (OAS) and when her husband dies, a surviving spouse benefit from the Canada Pension Plan (CPP). If they are divorced, she will get a share in the CPP benefits accumulated by her husband during the marriage. She may also get surviving spouse benefits (or a division of credits at divorce) if he has a company pension plan at work.

If government pensions are her only source of retirement income, she may also get the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) as well as a top-up available to low-income Yukon residents. Government sources alone could provide her with retirement income of more than \$9,000 a year (at current benefit rates) under the existing system.

iii) To give a special pension to a woman who is not in the work force on the grounds that her unpaid work in the home has an economic value that must be recognized in the pension system sends a strong signal to those

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<sup>18</sup> It is discussed at length in Better Pensions for Homemakers, a report of the National Council of Welfare. May 1984.

women who have to do the same unpaid work in the home in addition to their paid employment, that their homemaking services do not have any economic value.

In fact, a woman would not even have to do any homemaking to get the proposed pension. If she is married to a high-income earner, she could hire someone else to do her housework and still qualify as a "homemaker" while the woman who comes to work for her and has to go home and do her own homemaking at night or on the weekend could end up with a lower pension than her employer. (Anti-poverty groups and the labour movement oppose the proposed "homemaker" benefit precisely because of these kinds of inequities that would be created).

iv) Women who are able to remain at home as full-time homemakers can do so because they have some source of income - usually their husband's earnings. Since those earnings will eventually generate a pension, the pension can provide a source of income in retirement for a woman who has been a full-time homemaker. In fact most groups advocate that when both spouses reach retirement age, the pension built up by the husband (or by both spouses if both have been in the work force) should be divided equally between the spouses. This would give the full-time homemaker a pension in her own name in recognition of her equal contribution to the marriage partnership. (Groups which support this option also advocate an increased benefit level for the CPP so that there would be a bigger pension to be shared.)

### **11. Cultural Industries**

The report of the cultural industries workshop reviews the situation of cultural activities in Yukon. There are no obvious concerns specific to women in this sector.

## **12. Community Consultation**

This paper reviews the process of consultation with community groups which led up to the Yukon 2000 Fall conference in November 1986. Phase I of the process involved preliminary meetings with community groups involved in and concerned with economic planning.

Judging by the list of participants attached to the report, a number of individual women took part in this process, representing Indian Bands, village, town and city councils, community associations and chambers of commerce. However, there is no indication that women's groups per se were included in the consultation process. Even though such groups are not directly involved in economic planning, they have a direct concern in it and their views and perceptions could make an important contribution to the Yukon 2000 economic development planning process. If it has not already been done, these organizations should be included in the next round of consultations.

## **13. Financial Institutions**

This paper discusses the problems for financial institutions operating in the Yukon, focusing particularly on access to capital by Yukon businesses. The author notes that all of the financial institutions operating in the Yukon seem to consider their Yukon operations to be remote and of marginal interest.<sup>19</sup> About 25% of Yukon business establishments operate outside Whitehorse, but there are difficulties in providing financial services to these communities, especially for businesses.

Women's involvement is not mentioned at all in the paper, although there are two areas where the integration of women is important: as

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<sup>19</sup> B. D. Lehoe, Financial Institutions, Peat Marwick and Partners, October 1986, p. 4.

employees of financial institutions at all levels of their operations; and as borrowers - particularly in terms of their access to commercial lending services.

Branch operations of national financial institutions will presumably follow the personnel practices laid down by their head offices and will ensure that women have equal access to jobs at all levels and are visibly equal participants in the Yukon operations of the financial institution. The Yukon government could support these principles. For example, if it accepts the recommendation that video-taped instruction seminars be developed, in association with organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Federal Business Development Bank, (as recommended on page 7 of the report), it should ensure that any visual or audio material produced reflects an equal and balanced participation of women.

Women's access to capital for small businesses is not addressed in the paper, although this has been identified as a problem in other jurisdictions. A study of women business owners in British Columbia, for example, found that almost three-quarters of the women (73%) financed their businesses from personal savings and 61% cited obtaining capital to be the greatest unmet need of women business owners in B.C.<sup>20</sup> This is despite the fact that female-owned businesses appear to have a high success rate - some studies suggest that almost twice as many female businesses as male owned businesses are still in operation after five years.

No information is available about the percentage of small businesses in the Yukon owned by women. At the 1981 Census, only 165 women

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<sup>20</sup> See Women in the Yukon Economy: A Blueprint for the Future, prepared for the Yukon 2000 Conference by the Yukon Women's Directorate, October 1986.

declared themselves as being self-employed, while 540 Yukon men were self-employed at that time.<sup>21</sup> Since small business plays such a key role in the Yukon economy, it is important to ensure that women who have the skills and ability to start small businesses have access to the capital they need.

In terms of the recommendations listed in the paper, it may be necessary to state specifically that women are encouraged to apply for incentive programs, loan guarantees, direct loans to rural businesses, management assistance programs and business advisory services. (Among other initiatives, this would mean cleaning up the language, so that published material does not refer to "businessmen" as this author does on page 8 of the paper). The government may wish to design and publicize these programs in such a way as to attract applications from women who are potential or existing business owners.

The paper lists as a separate point (#11 on page 9) the need to review programs to make sure they meet the needs and are accessible to native businesses. The same consideration could be given to businesses owned by women. As well, if the Yukon government accepts the recommendation (#14, page 10) that it examine non-financial issues which can seriously restrict a small business's ability to obtain the necessary financing, it should include in that examination an assessment of whether or not women in the Yukon have particular problems in gaining access to business financing. The paper notes, for example, that "personal attitudes and relationships are particularly critical in the granting of credit for new ventures," (page 11). It would have

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<sup>21</sup> Yukon Bureau of Statistics, Selected Characteristics from the 1981 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Whitehorse and other Major Yukon Communities, August 1985, Table 17.

been useful to know how the "personal attitudes" affect the ability of women borrowers to gain access to capital for business purposes. Indications from other jurisdictions are that this has been a major problem.

#### **14. Training and Education**

The Discussion Paper titled Yukon Training Strategy represents the linkage study of training and education prepared for the Yukon 2000 Conference. The paper has a complete section (Part IV) dealing with "Special Programs for Special Needs," which includes a discussion of women and job training. However, the format of the booklet in which the information is presented undermines the government's commitment to ensuring that women have access to training.

Out of ten photographs showing Yukoners in various training situations, seven show men only - usually young men receiving training from male instructors. There are only two photographs of women in the entire booklet. One appears to show a high school student filling out a form, the other shows a woman pushing a baby carriage. As the booklet notes (page 15) "many women are faced with unfair barriers to job training and career development. Removing all these barriers will require changes throughout our society.." One change that would be very easy to make would be to ensure that government publications show women participating fully in training programs. Such images are vital, since the booklet as it is now gives the subtle impression that it is mainly men who take training and therefore it does not actively encourage and support women's participation.

In discussing the question of women and training, the booklet generally includes women with other disadvantaged groups, such as native people and the disabled and assumes that all have the same kinds of problems. For example, on page 16, the paper refers to the need "to provide

entry level training for high-unemployment groups such as women, Indians, youths and the handicapped." Although data specific to the Yukon are difficult to obtain, there is no evidence from any other jurisdiction that women are a "high unemployment group," although this does seem to be true of the other disadvantaged groups mentioned. In 1986, for example, the national unemployment rate for men was 9.4% compared with 9.9% for women. In British Columbia, 12.3% of men and 12.9% of women were unemployed in that year; while in Alberta, 10.3% of men and only 9.2% of women were without work.<sup>22</sup>

The paper also makes the statement (on page 15) that "groups which have a difficult time entering the labour force are not in a position to benefit from training-by-experience. In the Yukon, these groups include youth, women, Indians and the handicapped." Given that the Yukon has the highest rate of female labour force participation of any jurisdiction in Canada,<sup>23</sup> it seems unlikely that Yukon women have a difficult time entering the labour force. (There is some indication that this may be true for Indian women, but not for non-native women, who are the majority of women in the Yukon).

Unlike native people and the disabled, women do not generally have difficulty in entering the labour force. But women in the work force are generally confined to a limited number of occupations which are seen as "women's work." Their training needs are thus more likely to focus on training for non-traditional occupations (that are usually better-paid because they are filled by men) and the retraining needed because many "women's jobs" are lost as a result of the application of new technology, (as, for example, in retail stores, banking and office work).

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<sup>22</sup> Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1986, Table 57.

<sup>23</sup> Supra note 20.

The misconception about women entering the work force may have arisen because the authors of the booklet had in mind women who drop out of the work force to raise a family and then return to paid employment at a later stage after an absence of some years. Although it seems to be typical of women who are now over age 45, all indications are that this is no longer the pattern followed by younger women, who form the majority of the female population in the Yukon, and who are not likely to drop out of the work force for long periods of time to raise children.

It is important that in their consideration of women's training needs, policy-makers are aware of the nature of women's labour force participation and of the marked difference in work patterns now shown by women of different generations.

The section of the booklet dealing with special needs identifies very well the other barriers faced by women, such as lack of adequate child care facilities, transportation and timing of courses which are inconvenient for students with family responsibilities (page 15). It also points out the under-representation of women in both public and private enterprises in rural communities, as well as in tourism and small business.

But examples of training initiatives often use male-dominated occupations without making it clear that active steps would be taken to make training in these fields accessible to women. Instances of this are the suggestion (on page 2) that "a well-developed program offering apprenticeship training and journeymen [sic] certification in twenty-eight occupations" is a "strength" on which the Yukon can build; and the suggestion (on page 5) that "a rural settlement could be offered a trades course which combined distance education video with a "shop instructor" drawn from the local labour force."

While there is nothing wrong with these examples, per se, comparable examples that would include women, (either specifically, or by implication) should be included to make it clear that their needs and concerns have been addressed. An instance of where this might have been done would be the points made (on page 5) that "the opportunity to participate in retraining, upgrading and adult education in the local community allows local residents who cannot (or are unlikely to) leave home to improve their job skills;" and "the opportunity to plan and develop training programs in the local community provides local employers and community leaders with a local economic tool which can respond to local economic needs." Indian women in the Yukon have expressed their need for personal development programs within their own communities,<sup>24</sup> these needs, articulated by women themselves, could perhaps have been recognized in the paper at this point.

If increased responsibility is to be given to local co-ordinators to work with community leaders and identify new training needs, (as suggested on page 8), it will be important to make sure that the training needs and concerns of women are fully recognized. It may be necessary to develop mechanisms to ensure this. As well, committees, advisory boards, and boards of governors, such as that proposed (on page 12) to operate Yukon College, must actively seek a balanced representation of both women and men.

#### **14. Yukon Diversification: Benefits and Possibilities**

A large part of this paper deals with the concept of economic diversification by discussing examples of resource towns in the Yukon and elsewhere, and regional economies highly dependent on certain resources, such as oil and gas, or particular industries. In noting some of the benefits of

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<sup>24</sup> See Native Women: Background Paper, prepared by the Yukon Women's Directorate, April 28, 1986.

diversification, the authors point out that a well-diversified economy is fairer. "It provides opportunities for all kinds of people: natives and non-natives, parents staying at home, disabled, retired, youths, university graduates and people with little formal education, urban, rural, etc."

They also note that a more diversified economy is more productive in the long run because it provides an opportunity for all kinds of people to work.

A number of writers have documented the problems women face in single-industry towns, particularly if these are resource communities. There are usually few jobs for women in such communities, since logging, mining and construction, which are often the major occupations, have always been seen as men's work. Sociologist Meg Luxton's classic 1980 study of women in Flin Flon, Manitoba<sup>25</sup> describes how the Company (Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting) had hired a few women to work on the surface, but had refused to hire women to work underground and also generally refused to hire married women with children.

As over half the paid jobs in Flin Flon had always been with the Company, its discriminatory hiring policy had excluded married women from half the jobs in the community and from the best paying jobs as well. Those jobs available to women were in service, clerical or retail positions where the pay is traditionally poor; and there were not enough jobs for all the women who wanted them.

The experiences described by Luxton in this community are common to many resource communities where there is only one industry and one employer. Women who want paid employment outside the home often

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<sup>25</sup> Meg Luxton, More than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home, The Women's Press, Toronto, 1980, p. 176.

cannot find it, or are obliged to accept part-time work when they would prefer full-time. Because there are so few jobs, many women do not even consider taking on paid employment, even though many might like a job.

Diversification in ways which would try to avoid the establishment of single-industry towns could thus bring considerable advantages for women, although these are not discussed in the paper prepared for Yukon 2000.

The authors note, for example, that the dominance of the mining industry in the Yukon is already balanced to some extent by tourism and crafts. An important aspect of this "balancing" that is not mentioned in the paper is the fact that employment in mining is almost totally male, while employment in tourism and crafts is predominantly female. According to the authors' own data (presented in Appendix 2) 85% of those employed in mining in 1981 were male, compared with 94% in 1971. While no separate data are available for tourism, employment in accomodation and food was 68% female in 1981, compared with 63% in 1971. No separate data are available for craft occupations.

Where a predominantly male employment sector such as mining is balanced by a predominantly female employment sector, such as tourism, both women and men find employment. But occupational segregation in the work force may restrict the effectiveness of this type of diversification. If a male-dominated sector such as mining declines, will the men who were employed there be able to find employment in another sector such as tourism, which up to now has been predominantly female? Inflexible notions about what kind of jobs are appropriate for women or for men may prevent this from happening. Thus plans for diversification of the Yukon economy may be less than effective unless consideration is also given to the occupational segregation which still exists within the work force and plans

are made to eliminate some of the barriers to movement between sectors for both women and men (such as through affirmative action programs and special training programs to help women enter non-traditional occupations).

Diversification of employment for both women and men is not really addressed in the paper. An analysis of the data presented in Appendix 2 yields an interesting picture of the need for more diversification in employment by gender. The importance of government employment for both men and women has increased over the past decade or so. In 1981, almost three-quarters of all women in the Yukon work force were employed in the government sector together with only five other occupations, all of which may be categorized as traditionally "women's work": accomodation and food, retail trade, education and related occupations, health and welfare, and finance insurance and real estate. In contrast, about two-thirds of all the men in the Yukon work force were found in government employment and in four other occupations: metal mines, transportation and storage, construction and retail trade.

**Table 1**  
**Most important occupations for women in the Yukon work force**

	1981		1971	
	Number	%	Number	%
Government				
Federal administration	460	9	95	4
Territorial administration	505	9	205	9
Local administration	230	4	15	1
Total government	1,195	22	315	14
Accommodation and food	750	14	445	20
Retail trade	705	13	300	14
Education and related	485	9	260	12
Health and welfare	400	7	255	12
Finance, insurance and real estate	370	7	105	1
Total of above occupations	3,905	73*	1,680	76*

\* Numbers may not add because of rounding. Percentages are calculated after deducting those whose occupations were unspecified at the time of the census. At the 1971 census, occupations were unspecified for 13% of the male labour force and 14% of the female labour force. At the 1981 census, less than 1% of both males and females did not specify their occupation.

Source: Peter Boothroyd and H. Craig Davis, Yukon Diversification: Benefits and Possibilities, October 1986, Appendix 2.

**Table 2**  
**Most important occupations for men in the Yukon work force**

	1981		1971	
	Number	%	Number	%
Government				
Federal administration	695	9	305	6
Territorial administration	435	6	360	7
Local administration	360	5	45	1
Total government	1,490	20	710	14
Metal mines	1,060	14	735	15
Transportation and storage	955	13	785	16
Construction	865	12	520	11
Retail trade	600	8	370	8

Total of above occupations	4,970	66*	3,120	64*
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\* Numbers may not add because of rounding

Source: Same as Table 1.

The paper mentions women only in the context of the non-wage economy and implies that they might be encouraged to make informal exchanges of non-wage labour through baby-sitting co-ops and women's health collectives. The authors also note the contribution made by volunteers, who "produce wealth without needing the incentive of cash rewards to do so." They suggest that "these people and their organizers should be recognized as non-market wealth producers and in the interests of diversification should be supported as such.

Both of these aspects of the non-wage economy may present some difficulty as far as women are concerned. While women might certainly exchange non-wage labour through baby-sitting co-ops, for instance, it should not be forgotten that many women may need baby-sitting services in order to participate in training programs or to work in paid employment. The possibility that they might have to "pay" for the services they receive during a working day by offering to baby-sit for someone else during their leisure time may pose additional burdens on them. It may well be that for the majority of women a free exchange of labour through a baby-sitting co-op is not a desirable substitute for publicly-funded child care services available to all those families who need them.

While few would quarrel with the assertion that the voluntary sector creates wealth and that an active voluntary sector is a form of diversification, it must be recognized that increasingly volunteer work is not an alternative to paid employment. In the past, much of the volunteer work

in communities was carried out by women. More recently, however, when the majority of married women are working outside their homes, usually in full-time employment, it may be much more difficult for them to volunteer their time outside of the hours they spend in paid employment - especially when much of their "free" time may be spent in providing homemaking services to their families.

More and more of those who offer their services on a voluntary and unpaid basis, whether women or men, do so in addition to the hours they spend in paid employment. It may become more and more difficult to count on services provided through the voluntary sector as a form of diversification as more and more people (and especially women) seek paid employment.

## **16. Transportation**

Geography makes transportation a key element in achieving the objectives of the Yukon 2000 economic development strategy. As the September 1986 Discussion Paper notes,<sup>26</sup> about 70% of the population lives in Whitehorse, while about 6% live in each of Dawson City and Watson Lake. The rest are scattered in rural areas and in 14 small communities ranging in size from 80 to 600 people. The concentration of people in one large urban area, with a wide dispersal of others in quite a number of smaller communities makes transportation and communications systems between Whitehorse and the smaller communities particularly important.

This paper deals with broad transportation issues, covering the historical development of transportation in Yukon, and discussing problems of roads and airports. Emphasis is on the accessibility to markets,

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<sup>26</sup> Building the Future, Government of Yukon, Economic Development: Mines and Small Business, September 1986, p. 20

both internally within the Territory and externally, through links with other centres. The author notes that

The role of the Yukon highway system in contributing to the economic and social development of Yukon is unsurpassed by any other mode of transportation.....Roads are the principal means of delivering health and educational services, providing for social interchange between towns and carrying most of the essential goods required to maintain life.<sup>27</sup>

There is no further discussion of these concerns in the paper, but they are of particular importance for women. Access to transportation, for example, may determine whether or not a woman can attend training courses to upgrade her skills and improve her earning power, or even to take courses that will prepare her to enter the work force.

Family responsibilities may sometimes make it difficult for women to travel outside their communities for training, particularly if they live in some of the smaller communities distant from Whitehorse. Yukon College has established a network of community learning centres in most of these communities, (where over 60% of native women are located), aimed at providing training opportunities geared to local needs. But transportation may still be a barrier inhibiting women's ability to enrol in educational upgrading or training programs. Many women do not have access to a car and even in Whitehorse, public transportation is not always available or convenient for the woman who must transport her children to a baby-sitter and get herself to class and then repeat the whole process at the end of a training session.

Urban transportation is not addressed in the paper, but it is clearly a consideration for women, and indeed women themselves have already

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<sup>27</sup> Robin Lee Monroe, Transportation, Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, p.11.

undertaken initiatives to provide public transportation in Whitehorse and vicinity.

It will be important in developing a transportation strategy that the special needs of women be taken into account. These needs must be recognized as more than just social or cultural concerns; they are directly linked to the economic development of the Yukon. Achieving equality has been established as one of the four major objectives of the Yukon 2000 development strategy. To achieve that objective, transportation must be seen as not only a way to link markets for goods and services, but as an avenue to provide access for individuals in ways that will allow them eventually to participate more fully in the economy.

#### **17. Communications: Broadcasting and Telecommunications**

Women's concerns may enter into a communications strategy in two main areas: where women are employed in the communications industry, (both in telecommunications and in broadcasting); and in the image of women that is presented by the broadcast media. Neither of these issues is addressed in the paper, although they may have been somewhat outside the scope of what the author was asked to consider.

The author notes that NorthwestTel is a major source of employment in the Yukon economy, employing about 64% of all those involved in the communications/utilities sector in 1985.<sup>28</sup> The 1981 census data indicate that more women than men are employed in the communications industry in the Yukon. Just under 3% of the male work force worked in this sector in 1981, compared with almost 4% of the female work force.<sup>29</sup> If, as the author

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<sup>28</sup> Stephen Armstrong, Communications: Broadcasting and Telecommunications, Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> Supra note 3.

of this paper suggests, NorthwestTel will continue to be a major source of communications sector employment in 1987 and beyond, wages, working conditions and access to employment opportunities with this firm will have some bearing on the overall position of women in the Yukon work force.

No information is available about the employment of women in broadcasting, but it will be important to make sure that they have full access to employment in this sector, especially if local programming is to be expanded, as the paper suggests. Equal access of women, whether as part of organized groups or as individuals, should also be a consideration in making facilities available to both individuals and groups interested in producing programming. In fact, the government may wish to consider adopting special initiatives, such as advertising directed at women's groups, to encourage them to become involved in such activities.

In the development of a higher local programming content, which is also suggested in the paper, the importance of involving women should also be stressed. The image of women presented by local programming could have an important influence on the integration of women into Yukon economic and social life and help in achieving the equality objective of the Yukon 2000 development strategy.

The author notes that there are gaps in the availability of communications services in the Yukon., but he says it will probably be difficult to justify programs to address these gaps on economic grounds alone. This will especially be the case in broadcasting and in the area of program production. The author proposes that:

Any policy framework developed by the Government of Yukon to address communications, then, should contain policy objectives which address economic, cultural and quality of life policy objectives.<sup>30</sup>

If the Yukon Government decides to develop such a policy framework, it should incorporate specific measures to address the needs and concerns of women, paying particular attention to the image of women that is presented by the broadcast media. These images can have a strong influence on the way women's role is perceived, as well as having the potential to reduce the barriers to women's full and equal participation in the Yukon economy. This aspect of economic development should be considered as part of the study of the Impact of Telecommunications on Regional Economic Development in which the Department of Community and Transportation Services is now participating with federal and provincial governments.

#### **18. Resource Management in the Yukon**

This paper deals with the natural resource base in the Yukon and discusses the challenges to resource management, giving consideration to how conflicts about the competing use of resources might be resolved. It reviews a system of land use planning that would carry through to the year 2000.

There are no obvious areas of concern for women in resource management, other than those common to all citizens of the Yukon. Concern about the potential conflict between important sectors of the economy such as mining, and the need to protect the environment or to preserve wilderness areas are no doubt shared by all Yukoners. And both women and men acknowledge the importance of subsistence hunting, trapping and fishing, especially in the Indian community.

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<sup>30</sup> Supra note 28, p. 14.

It is perhaps interesting to note that most of the activities associated with resource development are ones which are predominantly male. More than 85% of those involved in mining, for example, are men; and over 70% of those engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishing and trapping as part of the formal economy are men.<sup>31</sup> Even discussion of land use for tourism, for example, tends to focus on activities such as sport fishing, big game hunting, outfitting and wilderness tours which are all likely to be areas where men predominate. It may be that more women take part in the informal economy, especially in Indian communities, where subsistence hunting, fishing and trapping contribute significantly to the economy, although the value of these activities is not measured as part of Yukon's economic output.

Given that women themselves are unlikely to be involved in most of the activities that are associated with resource management or with competing land use claims, it will be important that they have the opportunity for participation as citizens in the debate about resource management as well as in the resolution of competing claims. One way of achieving this might be through ensuring that women are appointed to the various boards, agencies and advisory bodies which the paper suggests might be part of Yukon's resource management strategy to the year 2000. The policy advisory committee, comprised of government, native and other non-government representatives, that is being proposed under the Yukon land use planning process, is one example of where such an initiative might be put into effect.

### **19. Research and Development**

Several themes run through this paper, which is actually two separate documents, presenting slightly different messages. A paper on research and

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<sup>31</sup> Supra note 3, calculated from Appendix 2, Table 3.

development in the Yukon, prepared by the Executive Council Office, discusses the rationale for a Yukon science policy. The statement outlining that policy is presented as an appendix to the paper. A separate paper setting out "An Alternative R and D Proposal Based on Indigenous Skills and Appropriate Technology," is also included.

The goals of the Yukon science policy include the eventual establishment of a science presence and infrastructure within the government to: a) attract the scientific projects and personnel, programs and funds to help further the Yukon's socio-economic development; b) attract and promote science programs that can create new educational opportunities and incentives for Yukon students; and c) strive for the establishment of a Yukon-based scientific resource centre, essentially independent from government and industry, that is capable of conducting sound research on northern issues as defined by northerners and their institutions.

The policy framework raises some issues as far as women are concerned. The first is the rather obvious one that if the agenda for scientific research and development is to be set by northerners and their institutions, it will be important to ensure that women take an active role in that process. Specific efforts may have to be made to include women and their organizations in formulating the research agenda, particularly since the emphasis is to be on furthering Yukon's socio-economic development.

Among the objectives set out for the science policy are increased efforts in basic research on northern ecosystems and the socio-economic and environmental effects of industrial activity; an increased level of research in the social sciences to promote social innovation and enable Yukoners to improve their welfare and the quality of their lives; and a co-operative research strategy involving all sectors of the research establishment.

operating in the Territory. These are all areas where the specific perspective of women should be actively sought.

The second issue is the question of scientific education for women. It is well-known that young women tend to be under-represented in science and mathematics courses at high school levels and a number of analysts and institutions, including the Science Council of Canada, have given serious consideration to the problem. They have tried to suggest ways in which more young women could be encouraged to undertake science education and training.<sup>32</sup> In creating new educational opportunities and incentives for Yukon students, the Yukon Government may have to undertake special initiatives to involve young women in science education.

But the emphasis of the Yukon science policy on providing "stable educational opportunities for students to train in and enter professional careers in science" is one that is contradicted to some extent by the paper offering "An Alternative R and D Proposal." In this paper, Michael Robinson, of the Arctic Institute of North America, makes a convincing case against the unquestioning acceptance of southern research and development and science and technology schemes. What is appropriate for other regions of Canada, he argues, will not necessarily be adaptable to the Yukon.

A dilemma associated with the adoption of the approach favoured in other (southern) regions he says is

the conscious promotion, often bordering on zealotry, of science courses (and careers) in the school system. This promotion is often linked to potential career earnings, job stability and status in society.

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<sup>32</sup> Science Council of Canada, A Statement of Concern: The Science Education of Women in Canada, Ottawa, January 1982. See also Joan Pinner Scott, Canadian High School Girls Science Subject Choice and Achievement Behaviour in the Context of Co-Educational Schools and the Labour Market, Toronto, 1980.

Instead of choosing careers based upon their interests, many southern students are being asked to focus on engineering, computer science, allied health programmes and pure science.<sup>33</sup>

This author cites the projections of futurists that in a post-industrial economy, (towards which Canada is rapidly moving), workers with broad general expertise will be favoured over those who have a narrower, more specialized training. Futurists make such predictions because they believe changing technology will eliminate some jobs and create others so that specialized training in one particular occupation or discipline may be less valuable than general knowledge and adaptability. Training and re-training will have to be undertaken on an ongoing, lifelong basis.

In speculating on how best to integrate an alternate research and development program into the goals of Yukon 2000, to counter the unquestioned importing of southern science and technology, Robinson advocates a focus on entrepreneurial skills and small businesses; on innovative services in the tourism industry; and an emphasis on community planning, community participation and planning as a means of cultural survival.

Considerable potential for the involvement of women exists in his proposals, although this is not specifically mentioned in the paper. Again, active efforts would have to be made to include women if the approach advocated in this paper is adopted.

## **20. Participation in the Economy by Youth, Seniors and Handicapped/Disabled**

In dealing with young people, the paper notes that employment and unemployment rates for young people in the Yukon differ by gender,

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<sup>33</sup> Michael P. Robinson, An Alternative R and D Proposal Based on Indigenous Skills and Appropriate Technology, Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, p. 3.

however, it does not clearly acknowledge the problem of occupational segregation of women in the work force, which is just as prevalent among younger workers (that is those between the ages of 15 and 24) as it is among adults. The opportunities to correct this are probably greater at younger ages, where young women just entering the work force can be trained for non-traditional occupations, (generally paying better wages than the kind of jobs in which most women workers are found.)

While noting that "of even more concern is the very low number of women who find jobs in construction or in the transportation-communications-utilities industry," the author also observes that "although these are not usually seen as female types of jobs, one would expect to see more females than is true at the present time."<sup>34</sup> Without effective employment equity (or affirmative action programs) to improve the representation of women in these non-traditional areas, it is unlikely that young women will find employment in them.

In making recommendations on training geared toward trade shortage areas, (on page 9 of the paper) the author makes no mention of the special needs of women. It would be useful to recommend that in the design of youth training programs, special efforts be made to encourage young women to train for non-traditional occupations. Experience in other jurisdictions indicates that training programs often channel women into sex-stereotyped occupations, such as secretarial work and hairdressing, for example.

It is also important to specify that there be equal representation of young women in training programs as well as on the committees proposed

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<sup>34</sup> L. Frances Anderson, NJM Services, Participation in the Economy of Youth, Seniors and Handicapped/Disabled, Draft Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, p.3.

for Youth Action Centres. If young people are to be appointed to all public agencies, boards and commissions which make decisions affecting them, (as the author proposes on page 8 of the paper), an equal representation of females and males should be specified.

The special needs of young women within the native community are not brought out clearly throughout the paper, although the author refers to drug and alcohol problems as a factor in deaths of native youth. In identifying illiteracy as a factor in high youth unemployment, for example, it might have been useful to have more information about the relevance of conventional educational programs among the native community and whether special efforts are being made to help those native young people who are illiterate.

The possibility of developing special educational programs for young native women who may be single-parent heads of families might also be explored. Studies have shown higher percentages of native than non-native families are single parent families headed by women. At the national level, almost one-quarter of female lone parents in the age group 18-29 have never been in a common-law or marital relationship.<sup>35</sup> As well, there are indications that early childbearing may be a factor, forcing these women to interrupt their education and prejudicing their chances for employment opportunities in the future.

These are issues that are not dealt with in the paper, but it would be worth investigating to what extent young women, either native or non-native, have had to curtail their education because of early childbearing and

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<sup>35</sup> Ian Pool and Maureen Moore, Lone Parenthood: Characteristics and Determinants, Results from the family history survey, Statistics Canada, November 1986.

now have family responsibilities which make it difficult for them to upgrade their skills and improve their earning power. Special programs could be designed to help these young women if necessary.

Any program of incentives to the private sector to encourage employers to hire and train young people should incorporate conditions requiring employers to ensure equal representation of young women, equal pay for work of equal value and hiring and training for non-traditional occupations.

The section on the elderly has little information about the specific needs of elderly people in the Yukon, but discusses in very general terms the desirability of involving the elderly in community activities; providing opportunities for them to continue their education; and the kind of health and social services needed by the elderly, with a brief discussion of incomes.

As the author notes, the Yukon is unusual in that the majority of elderly citizens are men, whereas in the rest of Canada, the majority of senior citizens are women. In addition, native people account for a higher percentage of the elderly than of those under age 65, reinforcing the impression that non-native Yukoners often go south to retire. (This phenomenon is not mentioned in the paper).

These two characteristics of the elderly in the territory warrant further investigation and explanation along gender lines. For example, at the national level, it has been observed that since men usually marry younger women and women generally have a longer life-expectancy, most elderly men are part of a married couple. However, when women reach their senior years, they may already be widowed. As a result, many elderly women are unattached individuals. Given that men outnumber women among the

elderly in the Yukon, it would be useful to know what percentage of elderly women compared with elderly men are on their own.

It would also be helpful if there were a gender breakdown of the native elderly. This kind of information would facilitate more effective planning for the elderly in the Yukon. Public education about retirement programs, for example, must include the special concerns of women, especially those who may not have been in the work force prior to reaching age 65.

The author makes the statement that "many elderly who own their own homes keep living in them for years without any problem." (page 6) However, there appears to be no information about what percentage of the elderly in the Yukon own their own homes. It is also difficult to judge how appropriate it is to suggest senior citizen housing projects and "granny flats" without a more detailed profile of the elderly in the Yukon. Since it is elderly women, rather than elderly men, who are likely to be left on their own, how many elderly women also have families in the Yukon, where the provision of "granny flats" might be an answer to their housing needs? No information on this is provided in the paper.

The section on incomes of the elderly is very brief and does not make any mention of the fact that elderly women are much more likely to be poor than elderly men. At the national level in 1984, for example, just under 50% all all elderly unattached individuals were poor. But 79% of all those who were poor were women.<sup>36</sup> As the author notes, lack of adequate income is at the root of all the other problems faced by the elderly. It follows, then, that

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<sup>36</sup> Statistics Canada, Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1984, Text Table I.

women are much more likely to face these problems than men. But this is not discussed in the paper.

While it is true that "most of what needs to be done about income and the elderly is the responsibility of the federal government," (page 10), the Yukon does have an income supplement for the aged, which is not mentioned in the paper. The supplement is income-tested and paid on a monthly basis. Each pensioner receives the same amount whatever his or her marital status, so that the supplement for eligible couples is twice the amount for the single aged. As the National Council of Welfare has pointed out:

While all poor elderly Canadians need income assistance, it can be argued that provincial supplements should adjust their rates so that a single pensioner receives a larger benefit than each member of an elderly couple...the federal OAS and GIS programs bring many couples above the poverty line but leave single pensioners substantially below the poverty line. Provincial supplements which pay elderly couples double or more the benefit for the single aged widen further the income gap between elderly singles and couples.<sup>37</sup>

This practice could have a particularly detrimental impact on women, since they are more likely to be single pensioners than men. The paper does not discuss what the Yukon government might do to change this so as to improve the situation of elderly women.

The recommendations listed in the paper do not seem to take account of gender differences or of native/non-native breakdown of the elderly population in the Yukon. Planned activities for senior citizens, as well as Advisory Councils and other committees that may be established must ensure an equal representation of women.

In a separate section on **disabled persons**, the author discusses some of the problems faced by the disabled. Unfortunately, there seems to

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<sup>37</sup> National Council of Welfare, A Pension Primer, April 1984, pp. 13 & 14.

be no information specific to the Yukon. It is not known, for example, how many employable disabled persons there are or where they might be located. Without more information and data, it is difficult to assess just how meaningful are references to the disadvantages of sheltered workshops and the need for the government to encourage employers to hire the disabled.

One area directly concerns women: the problem of fetal alcohol syndrome. The author notes the difficulties children born to heavy drinking mothers may have later in life, and suggests that fetal alcohol syndrome is a serious problem in the north. If it has not already done so, the Yukon government may wish to consider special programs as a preventative measure aimed at women who may eventually become mothers, whose babies are potentially at risk.

## **22. Indian Participation in the Economy**

There is no single "Indian" position on economic development. As the author of this paper points out, while many individuals and bands stress the importance of preserving the integrity of harvesting and subsistence hunting, others seek a more complete integration into the wage economy. It must also be emphasized that the prospects for development facing urban and rural residents are markedly different.

This paper touches on the role of Indian women in the economy, but the author does not discuss what considerations might be involved if women are to share in the programs and strategies being developed. The paper notes the lower labour force participation rates of Indian women and men compared with non-native Yukoners, and he discusses the employment of Indian women and men by sector as well as making some comparisons of their wages.

Special initiatives to encourage the involvement of native people in the economy often appear not to set any conditions for the inclusion of Indian women as well as Indian men. It would appear that as long as the target for native participation is met, little attention is paid to whether or not women share in that participation. For example, the author calls for the expansion of affirmative action programs specifically involving native managers to assist Indian people to assume greater control over their affairs, but there is no mention of involving Indian women in such programs.

We are also told that the Native Economic Development Program has the important goal of bringing together all of the available resources of the various federal government departments and programs to focus their efforts in support of aboriginal economic development. In the 1985-86 fiscal year, 14 out of the 15 Indian bands in the Yukon took part in the program and applied for financial assistance for training and job creation. According to the author, more than 50 people received training under this initiative, 27 received employment assistance, and one person received on-the-job training. There is no information on whether any of the participants were women.

The Yukon Special Agricultural and Rural Development program has had a broad impact on native economic activity. Between 1978 and 1984, for instance, 268 jobs were created, but only 48% of these went to Indian employees. Again, there is no indication as to how many of them were women.

Indian women have lower rates of labour force participation than non-native women and they may be much less likely to participate in the formal wage economy if they live in the smaller remote communities. In fact, women in these communities have made it clear that they feel they are at a

different stage of development from non-native Canadian women.<sup>38</sup> They want it understood that personal growth must take place before community development and economic development will become a reality.

According to a paper prepared by the Yukon Women's Directorate and based on consultations with native women's groups, native women are only too aware that within their communities there are no businesses, there are few jobs, and there is a great need for basic upgrading, for a proper education from kindergarten to Grade 12, for more training, and especially for a program that will allow native people to build their self-esteem.

Workshops on self-awareness, where women especially can learn, grow and change at an accelerated rate, have been identified by Yukon Indian women as an appropriate environment for self-exploration and personal growth. There is no indication from this paper as to whether any of the funds allocated to bands for training have been used to provide this kind of personal development program for Indian women.

The paper stresses that not all Indians share a commitment to wage/industrial labour. This may be particularly true of Indian women in the communities, although that possibility is not discussed in the paper. Indian women in the urban environment may face different problems. These may be similar to the difficulties faced by non-native women, but likely compounded by overt or covert racial discrimination. It is clear, however, that it would be inappropriate to assess the involvement of Indian women in the economy - whether in the remote communities or in the urban area - by the criteria used for non-native women in urbanized centres.

As the author of this paper notes:

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<sup>38</sup> Supra note 24.

It is imperative that attention be given to the full implications of economic development, and that judgements as to the success of initiatives not be reduced to simple comparisons of average incomes, man-years of training provided, and full-time equivalent jobs created. Native aspirations for involvement in the territorial economy remain mixed and complex.<sup>39</sup>

One proposal "to make more constructive use of existing social assistance payments to Native people" could have a major impact on Indian women, particularly those who are single parent heads of families and who may now be receiving social assistance payments. The author suggests that:

Funds currently dispersed as pensions, unemployment insurance payments, social assistance and other non-employment transfer payments could be delivered directly to individual bands or, with the permission of the appropriate government, could be tied to the performance of band-designed tasks within the community.<sup>40</sup>

It must be emphasized that, contrary to what the author states, these programs are not all "social assistance payments." Some of the programs, such as unemployment insurance and pensions, are social insurance programs to which workers must contribute and from which they receive benefits as a matter of right. Others are social assistance programs, funded from the general revenues of the government, from which an individual's entitlement to benefit depends on an income or means test.

The proposal is similar to a scheme advocated by the Macdonald Royal Commission on Canada's economic prospects that various programs, ranging from unemployment insurance to social assistance and certain tax deductions, could all be abolished and replaced with one single payment that would theoretically provide a basic guaranteed annual income. (Although

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<sup>39</sup> K. S. Coates, Indian Participation in the Economy, Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, September 1986, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 28.

under this Commission's proposals, the amount of the proposed single payment would leave most people worse off than under the current system).

Strong objections to the Macdonald Commission's proposals have been raised by a number of organizations, which have pointed out that the programs it was proposed to replace have differing objectives and are aimed at different target groups. To replace this wide mix of programs with one basic payment would not meet the objectives for which the various programs had been designed.

To suggest that the funds now being paid to individual Indians by way of pensions, unemployment insurance and social assistance might instead be paid to the band and somehow tied to "band-designated tasks" would have major consequences. It would mean that Indian people would no longer be guaranteed the same right as other Canadians to pensions, unemployment insurance, social assistance benefits and other payments. Payment of these benefits, according to this proposal, would then depend on decisions of individual bands.

For women who are lone parents on social assistance, for example, it could mean that the funds they now receive as individuals and mothers who are heads of families, would be combined with social assistance payments to other members of the community to generate a job creation fund for band members. The family responsibilities of these women might not allow them to participate, or they could even be required to participate in order to gain the same kind of income - inadequate though it is - as they receive under the existing system. Either way, it could have major consequences for them.

Clearly, if the government decides to proceed with such a proposal, it would have to be particularly sensitive to the extreme vulnerability of

Indian women in this situation and it would probably have to consider built-in safeguards to protect these women.

Ultimately, Indian women themselves must identify the role they wish to play in economic and community development. To some extent, their views are already on record. Their participation in the Yukon economy is more fully discussed in the paper prepared for the Yukon 2000 conference by the Yukon Women's Directorate.<sup>41</sup>

### **23. Report on Energy**

This paper discusses sources and uses of energy in the Yukon economy and considers what measures might be taken to shift from high-cost external sources of energy, such as refined petroleum products, to indigenous energy sources, such as wood, solar heating and electricity.

There are no apparent concerns for women that would be different from those of men. However, in one respect, a policy of developing local sources of energy might not have the same impact on women as it would on men. The paper notes that:

Any shift in supply to indigenous energy sources would have a significant effect in increasing the income and employment supported by energy in the region.<sup>42</sup>

The kind of employment effects envisaged by the paper include jobs in pipeline construction, in installation of energy conservation equipment, in wood harvesting, chipping and management, in coal mining and distribution, in the extraction of peat, in the installation of solar heating systems, and in construction of hydro-electric projects. Virtually all of the jobs that might be

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<sup>41</sup> Supra note 20.

<sup>42</sup> Marvin Shaffer & Associates Ltd., Report on Energy, Background Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, p. 19.

created through these initiatives would likely go to men, since most of the occupations listed have generally been considered "men's work." At the 1981 census, for example, (which is the most recent available data), 90% of those employed in construction in the Yukon were men, as were 81% of those employed in electric power, gas and water, and 79% of those employed in transportation and storage.<sup>43</sup> However, it is possible that a limited number of support and service jobs could be created for women as spin-offs from the activities described in the paper.

#### **24. Municipal Infrastructure**

Municipal infrastructure is here divided into three types: hard infrastructure, such as roads, sewers, water and power; soft infrastructure, such as recreation facilities and education; and social infrastructure, such as the people involved in municipal government, administration and community groups, and the social capital that represents the qualities of the population.

According to the author, the social infrastructure is the weakest level of infrastructure in Yukon at the moment. What is needed, he says, is an increase in skills and resources, through training and awareness of all personnel involved in decision-making at the community level, including both the elected officials and the administration in municipal areas. Once this is done, the community can effectively serve as the base for planning a municipal infrastructure that will support economic development and for deciding what needs to be done. In fact, says the author,

The timetable for determination of these gaps and needs can and should be set back until a point in time where the social infrastructure

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<sup>43</sup> Supra note 3.

is adequate and is able to contemplate and absorb the effects of its decisions to implement changes, whatever they may be.<sup>44</sup>

"Each community in Yukon can be viewed as a specialized economic unit with its own demography, infrastructure, and indeed, almost personality," says the author of this paper. Determining what gaps there may be in municipal infrastructures, he says, is beyond the scope of his paper and must be left to the local communities. But it appears the government will have "to induce fundamental changes in infrastructure at the community level," before this can be done.

The emphasis of the paper on increasing the skills of community groups, elected officials and administrative personnel has obvious implications for women but their particular needs or concerns are not addressed in the paper.

How can people be persuaded to get involved in community economic development, for example? "What can induce a person to run for office in a municipality, let alone become active in decision making and planning on a daily basis?" the author asks. In the more passive communities, is the economy stable or stagnant, and is that the position in which they want to be? According to this author:

It makes sense to offer the training along with an inducement of some type to devote some portion of free or working time to managing a municipality, or perhaps simply the training and experience involved will be the inducement. Courses could be developed, possibly ending with diplomas or degrees in municipal management (in conjunction with provincial courses) and salaried employees may see accredited courses, with their inherent increase in earning power and mobility, as

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<sup>44</sup> Scott Widmeyer, Municipal Infrastructure Linkage Study, Discussion Paper prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, p.7.

possible inducement to make a commitment to becoming involved in upgrading.<sup>45</sup>

Running for office or taking an active part in local economic development may be particularly difficult for women, who are still expected to shoulder the major part of family and homemaking responsibilities, unless support systems such as child care are readily available. Indications are that in many communities, such services are not present. It is interesting that the author does not even mention such services as part of the essential infrastructure (in his categories, it would be "soft" infrastructure) that is needed if all citizens, women as well as men, are to have the opportunity to become involved in community development..

There are tables included in the paper that present a profile of various communities, listing services such as schools, television, garbage disposal, fire equipment and postal service. Services such as day care centres, play groups for children, drop-in centres for mothers, are not part of the catalogue. There may be increasing pressure to recognize that such activities and facilities for them are just as important - and maybe even more important - in developing a strong municipal infrastructure as are curling rinks, ball diamonds and gymnasiums - all of which appear in a second table where the facilities in various Yukon communities are rated.

## **25. Housing Infrastructure**

This paper discusses the likely demand for housing in the Yukon over the next 15 years and suggests ways in which it might be met. Women are not mentioned at all in the paper, yet there are instances where the housing needs of women are of particular concern.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

In reference to the 1986 Yukon Housing Corporation Needs Study, for example, the authors discuss the difficulties faced by low-income households in finding affordable, suitable housing. In Whitehorse, over 50% of all households pay 30% or more of their income to cover housing costs. The paper notes that single individuals, single parent families and the disabled are least able to afford housing. According to the authors:

The supply of YHC units is not adequate to meet this need and there is virtually no other source of such housing - there are no non-profit housing societies or co-ops outside of a few urban native units. Over 80% of all single parent households fall into the core need category, as do 60% of all senior citizen households.<sup>46</sup>

Given that almost all single parent families are headed by women and that women who are elderly - especially if they are on their own - are more likely to be poor than elderly men, it is probable that most of those identified as constituting a "core need" for housing will be women.

There is no indication from the paper as to whether or not the Yukon Housing Corporation Needs Study considered the special needs of women and their families for housing. However, the particular housing problems faced by women, especially those who are single-parent heads-of-households, are clearly of major significance. Are their needs best met by social housing or by housing allowances, such as those that are given in some other countries to lone-parent families? What are the implications of social housing developments where almost all the families occupying the units are mother-led lone-parent families? These issues are not discussed in the paper.

In forecasting the need for housing in the Yukon, the authors take into account population projections and the likely trend towards smaller

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<sup>46</sup> David McCann and Carl Evers, Housing Infrastructure, Prepared for the Yukon Economic Development Strategy Fall Conference, October 1986, p.2.

household sizes. Both may determine the type of housing that will best meet the needs of the Yukon population over the next 15 years. However, the possibility that more and more families may be single parent families headed by women does not seem to have entered into the equation. The percentage of single-parent families in the Yukon is above the national average, and national data show that an even higher percentage of native families are single-parent families, most of them headed by women.<sup>47</sup> Are the needs of native women who are lone parents being met by the current system of band housing? This question is also not dealt with in the paper.

These considerations may have some bearing on the solutions the authors of the paper put forward for Yukon housing issues. Much of their emphasis is on self-sufficiency, which they see as a way of minimizing housing outlays. Yukoners, they suggest, should show "ingenuity in the provision of their own shelter."<sup>48</sup> They caution against a large-scale government supported social housing program "because it tends to breed dependency rather than promoting self-sufficiency." They suggest training Yukoners in various building trades so they can build their own houses; and they propose part-time educational opportunities to give basic information that "will allow ordinary people to find the solutions to their own housing problems."

Such proposals are not likely to be feasible when applied to women who head single-parent families and who are most likely to be in need of housing support. The authors do not appear to have considered this possibility. For example, they refer to the fact that "financing for the

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<sup>47</sup> Pamela M. White, Native Women: A Statistical Overview, Social Trends Analysis Directorate, Department of Secretary of State, Ottawa 1986.

<sup>48</sup> Supra note 46, p. 14.

individual to build **his** [emphasis added] own home can be extremely frustrating." and they propose alternative financing techniques, "assuming it is the intention of the Government of the Yukon to encourage individuals to take hold of their own housing destiny and to promote stability of residency in the Yukon

It will be essential that the special housing needs of women are taken into account in formulating an effective strategy for the development of a housing infrastructure in the Yukon. This study makes no mention of the fact that such needs even exist.

## **26. Government as an Economic Force**

As the author of this paper notes, the paper "is intended to stimulate discussion regarding government as a force in a modern economy." The paper describes how markets work; explains what are public goods; discusses natural monopolies and other concepts in economics such as fiscal equity, stabilization and structural change.

Most of the discussion is in terms of economic theory, with brief comments on how such theories might apply in the Yukon. The section on "Economic Justice" is probably the only part of the paper with direct relevance to women. The discussion of income distribution and poverty rates here makes no reference to income disparities between women and men and the increasing feminization of poverty.

For example, the statement is made that "over 20% of all families in Canada fall below the poverty line. This too is a relatively startling result, and supports the view that economic outcomes for families today are less than desirable." It might also have been mentioned that at the national level, 60% of all single-parent families headed by women under the age of 65 fall

below the poverty line.<sup>49</sup> (In the Yukon, a higher percentage of families than elsewhere in Canada are single parent families headed by women.) This could then have led into a discussion of the importance of eliminating income disparities between women and men, through such measures as pay equity, if poverty (and particularly the feminization of poverty) is to be addressed effectively.

The author notes that "Generally speaking, it is also agreed that if poverty is to be addressed, governments must be a major force." He also refers to measures to ensure greater equality of opportunity among people, including affirmative action; and measures to ensure directly greater equality of results, listing subsidized child care as an example under this heading. As well, he acknowledges that "the Yukon Government can and does undertake many activities designed to correct for economic inequalities" and he lists equal opportunity and employment equity programs for various groups such as women, native people, the disabled and "poorer people generally."

While a full and detailed discussion of special initiatives directed at women would not have been appropriate, given the type of paper the author set out to write, it will nevertheless be important to acknowledge the major role governments can play in ameliorating the situation of women. This is particularly true in the Yukon where the territorial and federal governments play such an important role in the economy.

Government is a major employer in the Yukon, providing 39% of full-time jobs in 1985.<sup>50</sup> The public sector has been a particularly important source of employment for women. For although they accounted for only 42%

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<sup>49</sup> Supra note 36, Text Table IV.

<sup>50</sup> Supra note 20, Table 2.

of the Yukon work force at the 1981 population census, women are now 53% of all federal government employees in the Territory<sup>51</sup> and 48% of permanent workers in the Territorial Public Service.

Governments in other jurisdictions have implemented a wide range of policies to improve the situation of their female employees. Employment equity programs, including affirmative action and equal pay for work of equal value have often been implemented first for public sector workers, not only in other Canadian jurisdictions, but elsewhere in the world. Application of such measures, combined with the fact that there is a higher degree of unionization in the public service than in the private sector, have improved the wages and working conditions of women who work for governments. Studies have shown, for instance, that the wage gap between women and men is less in the public sector than in the private sector.

Since the government plays such a significant role in the Yukon economy, it has a unique opportunity to take effective measures to ensure that women are integrated as full and equal partners in the Yukon economy.

In summarizing his paper, the author emphasizes that the distribution of income "is a matter of considerable importance in any economy. The capacity to reduce inequalities must largely be the responsibility of government," he says. But in listing the kinds of measures that might be directed at improving equality of opportunity for women and other disadvantaged groups as well as addressing income inequalities, he does not mention initiatives such as pay equity which could do much to address the income inequalities between women and men as well as tackling the feminization of poverty.

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<sup>51</sup> Public Service Commission of Canada, Annual Report - 1985, p. 57.

Earlier in the paper, he reiterates the tenet of economists, (among whom he says "it is generally accepted") that "absolute wage and salary equality is not a reasonable goal, since differentials here may play at least some role in encouraging labour force adjustments." While the author no doubt intended the statement as a reference to wage differentials between workers regardless of gender, it is perhaps significant that exactly this kind of argument has been used against pay equity by those who suggest that paying women equally with men for doing work of equal value will remove any incentive women might have to move out of the low-paying female job ghettos. Such an argument, of course, fails to recognize the other barriers to women's advancement in the work force. As well, it is based on the premise that it would be desirable for women to move out of "women's work" (although the proponents of the argument never suggest who would undertake these jobs if women stopped doing them). In fact, the argument tacitly acknowledges that certain jobs are paid poorly simply because they are filled by women.

Participants in the Yukon 2000 economic development strategy must guard against basing their consideration of the role of government on an analysis that does not fully acknowledge the different roles and experiences of women in the economy.

### **27. Small Business and the Yukon: A Linkage Report**

This paper examines the contribution of small business in all sectors of the Yukon economy and discusses the likely role of small business in economic development to the year 2000. It acknowledges the role of women in the small business sector and includes the suggestion that "they may well deserve particular attention for support in starting businesses." (page 15). As

well, use of language indicates the author recognizes small business proprietors may be male or female (see page 11).

One might question the author's explanation for the increasing involvement of women in small business, however. He suggests that "women have often turned to their own businesses as second breadwinners in families. As female economic and political power grows much of that power shows itself in the small business arena," (page 4). While some women may indeed have started small businesses as a way of earning an income to supplement that of their spouse, studies of women entrepreneurs indicate that many women start small businesses because they are already income earners who are frustrated with their inability to achieve recognition and advancement as employees in other firms. If this is true, then the increasing economic and political power of women (assuming it is indeed increasing) may well lead to increasing recognition of women as valuable employees, expanding their opportunities for advancement and perhaps reducing their desire to withdraw from the corporate world to start their own businesses.

There are a number of issues dealt with in the paper where the differential impact of proposals on women is not brought out, and where the different experiences of women do not seem to be taken into account.

No gender breakdown is mentioned throughout the discussion of the job creation record of small business and its potential for employment creation in various sectors of the Yukon economy. None of the four tables, each of which deals with employment, has a gender breakdown. This may reflect the difficulty of obtaining Yukon data by gender except for information generated by the Census. However, it would have been desirable for the author to acknowledge that small businesses in different sectors do not all have the same potential to create jobs for women.

For example, the discussion of manufacturing (page 5) and its potential to link with mining and construction, which the author notes "is already particularly strong because of its present dominance by small businesses with strong labour pools" does not acknowledge that all the sectors mentioned are ones in which few women find employment, so the "labour pools" are likely to be almost exclusively male. Similarly, the discussion (on page 6) of accomodation and retail trade makes no mention of the fact that a high percentage of employees here are women.

The author notes that small, local capital projects will provide a good deal of impetus for growth (page 9) and that the service sector will be particularly important here. He points out that "a small, technology-reliant service may be a much more natural evolution of native people's and community-based lifestyles than has been a resource-based centralized economic structure." As well, he says, "a retail-related, service-oriented economic base will bring a larger proportion of native populations into the economy, whether they be as wage earners or as business proprietors," (page 10). The same observations, of course, could be applied to the employment of women. The author also refers (on page 13) to the potential for native people following a traditional lifestyle to integrate non-wage work with part-time business activity. Similar potential exists for women, but it is not explored in the paper.

The development of small businesses in the service sector, as described in the paper, could provide unique opportunities for the fuller integration of women into the Yukon economy, both as employees and as small business proprietors, but these are not explored in the paper either. (At the national level, 84% of all employed women and 61% of men with jobs

in 1986 worked in the service sector).<sup>52</sup> The paper emphasizes training and business education and suggests the establishment of a small business agency to co-ordinate government efforts to help small business. All of these offer opportunities to work towards a fuller integration of women in the Yukon economy, and if the recommendations are accepted by the government, special efforts would have to be made to ensure that women were specifically included.

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<sup>52</sup> Supra note 22, Table 71.

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