



# Skilled Trades and Education-related Geographical Mobilities: A Case Study of Students enrolled in the College of the North Atlantic's Process Operator Course

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## Introduction

In the last decade, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador has invested in a number of initiatives to encourage youth, as well as members of underrepresented groups such as women, to enter skilled trades training in order to curb outmigration and meet skilled labour demands of resource extraction projects in the province. Public discussion about recruitment into skilled trades training tends to assume that a skills gap exists in part because young people have the wrong information or negative views about trades, and that once presented with the right information, young people will make rational choices to follow the training, jobs and money (see Power 2017).

The aim of this report is to present a case study of the education-related geographical mobility experiences of young women and men participating in the 2014/2015 Process Operator (PO) course at the College of the North Atlantic in Placentia, NL (CNA-Placentia). The PO course provides Blue Seal certification, which means the credential is limited to provincial recognition, and supplies qualified workers to companies such as Vale, a Brazilian mining corporation and operators of a nickel processing plant in nearby Long Harbour. Like other trades courses, the PO course is an apprenticeship program whereby students who complete the entry level course may register as an apprentice and enter into an agreement with an employer and the Apprenticeship and Trades Certification Division to pursue a program of advanced qualifications combining on-the-job skills development and classroom instruction. The structure of apprenticeship training often requires that students engage in education-related geographical mobility (referred to as EDGM hereafter) many times over the course of their training, including relocating temporarily or for longer terms or commuting varying distances from home to school or work. Though it is worth noting that up to the point of data collection, no graduating student had registered as a PO apprentice.

In this report we document PO students' accounts in order to better understand the range of influences on their mobility practices. EDGM is defined as part of an individual's biography – as opposed to a single event – and includes small-scale everyday practices (e.g., short and long distance daily commutes) and large-scale moves (e.g., temporary or more permanent migration), enabled through access to economic, cultural and social resources (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993; Ni Laoire, 2000). Using a biographical approach to EDGM, our aim is to understand individual biographies in terms of the broader context. This approach differs from those that assume economic rationalities are

the primary driver of young people's EDGMs, or that decision-making processes of youth can be reduced to personal choice. Instead the goal is to understand the context and the processes by which EDGM experiences are produced, including how certain kinds of preferences and choices are made possible. Understanding why and how students engage in decisions related to education and mobility should better inform government initiatives aimed at supporting student training and education.

In the following report we provide a brief background on the context of youth employment and training in the province, a description of the study approach and methods, a discussion of the contested history of the development of the PO course, followed by a summary of the EDGM experiences of PO students. The report ends with a discussion of the findings meant to inform future work and policy directions.

## Context of Youth Employment and Training in Newfoundland and Labrador

The unemployment rate for young people in NL is high, at 17%, compared to the national rate, at 12% (Walsh et al., 2015, p. 16). There has been a decline in the labour force participation rate for youth aged 20 to 34 in fulltime employment, from 45% to 25% between 1990 and 2012, and at the same time, there has been a substantial net migration loss of youth from rural areas of the province (Walsh et al., 2015, p. 15). These trends must be understood in terms of the changing context of employment options for young people in NL in the last couple of decades reflecting, among other things, contracted employment options in the fishing industry since the moratorium in the early 1990s and more recently, expanded employment in other resource extraction industries, including mining and oil and gas. Formal qualifications are necessary to gain employment in these sectors, and employment is often short term requiring workers to follow the work, as one job ends moving to another job in a different location (Barber 2016).

The provincial government has focused on the recruitment into skilled trades training and employment as the primary remedy for curbing the outmigration of youth and addressing the high unemployment rate of young people. Guided by an assumption that there is a "skills mismatch" between local people with the right qualifica-

tions and expanding employment in large-scale resource development projects (Lysenko & Vodden, 2011; Walsh et al., 2015), successive provincial governments, industry and educational institutions have partnered to “help shape the curriculum for career development,” and support young people’s transition to the skilled trades through various forms of wage subsidies and financial assistance (HRLE, 2009, p. 32).

## Methods and participants

This is a case study of the EDGM experiences of young women and men participating in the PO course at the CNA-Placentia campus. In many ways, the PO course is different from other skilled trades courses offered in the province. Like other courses, it is delivered at a campus in a rural area, but unlike other courses, there has been a general impression certainly among students and administrators that the course, at least early in its development, was linked to employment at the nearby nickel processing plant in Long Harbour. While the course content is generalizable and meant to transfer to a variety of different workplaces, it is clear from previous studies, as well as students and key informants in this study that this link has been the dominant message – and for good reasons, which we will return to below. This context limits what we can learn about EDGM; in other words, the assumption of employment following training in the same region, rather than training itself, may be a major driver for EDGM, including staying in one’s hometown of Placentia for training. Nevertheless, the context does allow for a better understanding of the degree to which programs aimed at training the local labour force are successful. In other words, we can ask the question, are young people willing to complete training in their hometown or region for potential employment in their region?

The case study involved three main methods to collect data: document analysis, an online survey, and interviews with students and key informants. Document analysis was conducted to inform the development of the survey and interview questions, to document the economic, cultural and political context of EDGM among students and to get a sense of the kinds of assumptions or ideas about youth in operation in the delivery of skilled trades training in the province. The documents include publically available industry and government documents (e.g., Vale website, provincial government documents related to youth retention and training), previous studies related to the course and region, and media reports.

The online survey was sent to and completed by students in the 2013/2014 and 2014/2015 PO classes. With the help of CNA staff who forwarded the survey link to students, survey responses from six women enrolled in the 2013/2014 PO course were collected (out of a total of six women and one man). Responses from five men and three women in the 2014/2015 class were collected (out of a total of nine students, five men and four women). It is worth noting that the proportion of women enrolled in this course is striking, and sits in contrast to most skilled trades courses where women are disproportionately underrepresented.

Table 1. Demographic Overview of Survey Respondents

Demographic Overview of Survey Respondents
5 men and 9 women from two classes: 2013/2014 and 2014/2015
Ages ranging from 19 to 53
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 11 of the students were between ages 19 and 30</li> </ul>
9 never married and 5 in cohabitating relationships
12 without children and 2 with children
4 reside with parents
8 moved for the course, 6 did not
7 live in Placentia while going to school
7 commute daily distances of 10km to 300km
9 commute to school alone, 4 car pool and 1 travels on foot

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the eight students from the 2014/2015 class of POs who submitted full responses to the survey, and two key informants, the PO course instructor and the campus administrator of CNA-Placentia. Interviews were conducted while students were enrolled in the course and took place in a private space on campus. All interviews were conducted December 2014. Pseudonyms are used in the report to protect the identities of students.

Table 2. Demographic Overview of Students Interviewed

Demographic Overview of Students Interviewed
5 men and 3 women from the PO class of 2014/2015
Ages ranging from 19 – 26
8 never married, 1 cohabitating with a significant other
All without children
2 men living with parents
2 work part-time
6 moved to participate in the course
5 live in Placentia and 3 live outside of Placentia
3 women commute daily distances of 10km to 50km (round trip)
5 commute to school alone, 2 with others, and 1 travels on foot

The sample size in this study is small and findings are not generalizable. However, using a biographical approach the goal is to map out the context and processes by which students make mobility decisions, not to quantify or measure the weight or direction of a trend. A biographical approach instead starts with the discrete moves of individuals, places those mobilities in the context of individual biographies, which in turn are contextualised in terms of the broader social relations and political, economic and cultural context.

## The Development of the Processing Operator Course

With the increase in large-scale, resource extraction development projects in the province, colleges have increased trades course offerings related to employment needs of resource extraction industries (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2009, 2011, 2015). The PO course is one example, and its site of delivery, the Placentia CNA campus, reflects at least in part the needs of communities and industries in the region. Studies suggest that the PO course was in part developed to address a “skills mismatch” in the region where youth unemployment rates are high and ensure a qualified local labour pool for megaprojects and to attract and retain trades workers in rural communities (Hall, 2014; Lysenko & Vodden, 2011; see also <http://www.cna.nl.ca/alumni/View-Profile.aspx?MessageID=49>). Placentia (population ~ 4500) is a short distance from the Commercial Hydrometallurgical Nickel Processing plant in Long Harbour, along with other key employers in the region, including the oil refinery in Come by Chance and the Hebron oil platform in Bull

Arm, and serves as a regional hub, with hospital and government services, a ferry terminal, and the CNA campus (Lysenko, 2011, p. 4). Companies like Vale have committed to employing people from local areas (Lysenko & Vodden, 2011), though it is not always clear that this commitment is met.

Vale Inco built a demonstration plant for the processing of nickel from the Voisey’s Bay mine that operated in Argentina from 2005 until 2008 (Vale Inco NL, 2008). Long Harbour was later chosen as the permanent site for the plant because it offers underwater storage required for hydro-metallurgical nickel processing residue (Hall, 2014). The current PO course is adapted from the 20-week course delivered in 2004 by CNA Placentia to qualify workers for employment at the demonstration plant (Key Informant Interview). Vale submitted a proposal to work with the CNA and Department of Education (now Advanced Education and Skills) to develop a PO course in order to ensure a qualified pool of local workers. However, several sources emphasize the course was developed in a general way so that people who complete the program do not depend solely on Vale for employment post-graduation (Key Informant Interview, Hall, 2014; Lysenko & Vodden, 2011; Vale Inco NL, 2008). Vale has funded CNA scholarship programs (Vale, 2012), and in particular students enrolled in the PO course. There is some evidence, however, that Vale’s support for the program has waned. According to a key informant, the number of Vale scholarships provided to PO students specifically has decreased, and were not available for the 2014/2015 class. The observed decrease in financial support provided to students in the PO course suggests that Vale is less supportive of the training program as a way to recruit potential processing operators. This seems borne out when we look at Vale’s hiring practices that rely heavily on the results of aptitude tests and group assessments (Hall 2014), not CNA qualifications. Likewise, a key informant speculated that employers like Vale may prefer to hire workers who have not completed the PO course to avoid having to let go employees for block training.

## EDGM experiences of PO students

There are four main findings from the data that shed light on the EDGM of young people:

1. *Young people are committed to acquiring training credentials and moving in order to secure a good job; however, information about training and job prospects was not always clear;*

2. *The gendered structure of skilled trades shaped the EDGMs of PO students;*
3. *While there are some financial supports for PO students, individual and families are largely bearing the costs of EDGM;*
4. *Emotional connection to place is an important dimension of EDGM and future mobilities.*

First, and in contrast to public discourses that describe youth aspirations as problematic, it is clear that young people are committed to acquiring training credentials and moving in order to secure a good job; however, information about training and job prospects was not always clear. Students described having moved for education, in some cases more than once, already. It was not uncommon for youth to have been enrolled in a number of different programs before the PO course, or to be enrolled or plan to enroll in another program upon completion of the PO course.

*Well I graduated from high school three years ago, and then I took a year off. Then I went to MUN and I really didn't like it, so I worked for the year again... I was looking through the college book, and this is what I thought I would be interested in I guess... I applied for another course at the college [CNA]... it was in Instrumentation, and it was in... it might have been Seal Cove. Well I said I applied to the other one, and this is the one I got into. But I was looking in the book and those are the two that kind of jumped out at me. (Claire)*

*I applied for a Power Engineering program in Corner Brook, but it started in January. I got accepted for that one but I'm already half way through this one so I'm going to stick with this. Hopefully I'll get a job with this trade, and if not - if I come back and do another trade, once you've done one you've pretty much done them all. (Amy)*

While students heard about the PO course through a number of different sources, they identified the CNA website or other Internet sources (35.7%), followed by parents (21.4%), and friends (28.6%) as the top sources, suggesting that many students were proactive in locating information about skilled trades.

*I was doing the CAS [Comprehensive Arts & Science Transition] program in Goose Bay last year. I was going to transfer over to MUN, but*

*I don't really like schoolwork that much so I decided to get a trade instead. I sat down and looked through all the trades and this is the one I wanted to do, so I came here and did this one. I read all the descriptions of all the trades that CNA offers, and this one seemed the most interesting to me. (Amy)*

The potential for employment in the nickel processing plant in Long Harbour following the completion of the program was an important factor in making the decision to enroll in the program and for those from other regions, to move to the Placentia area. Nevertheless, students (like key informants) voiced concern about the weakened link between gaining PO credentials and getting employment at the Vale plant in Long Harbour. While not all young people imagined they would remain in Placentia even if they were hired at the plant (e.g., some imagined they would live in St Johns and commute daily), this concern may have the effect of deterring youth from Placentia and outside from making plans to stay.

*I don't really know. I heard that Long Harbour doesn't hire, like if you have this course, which makes no sense, but I heard that! So I hope that's not true, because I really wouldn't mind working out there. It's not too far... like I drive sometimes... if I don't have class until 2[pm] I'll just stay in town [St. John's area] and drive the next day, and it's really not that bad... so I wouldn't mind driving. Or even get the bus... I had a friend who used to do that [bus to Long Harbour] and she said it wasn't too bad. (Cathy)*

*I've heard people in Long Harbour [employers] don't hire people who do this program. It really doesn't make much sense. I should have just applied for a job instead of doing the program. Well, not really. I guess this is where the work is to. If I could work at Long Harbour I'd stay here [Placentia]. (Amy) [Amy moved over 1,500km to do the PO course]*

Second, the gendered structure of skilled trades shaped the EDGMs of PO students. The young men in the 2014/2015 PO course mentioned the influence of friends on decision-making processes. Male friends supplied information about the trades and labour market to the PO students in this study. This reflects the gendered character of resource extraction industries and skilled trades more generally. By extension, we speculate that women's and

men's future employment-related geographical mobilities will likely reflect this gendered system of social networking.

*I had a roommate first when I got here. It was a friend I knew from Clarenville. When I came down here, well it was a new town and a new school so I wanted to have someone I knew and this person, I brought it up with him 'cause I knew he was looking for a spot, so he came down with me. And I also thought if I do him a favor now maybe he'll do me one in the future because I know his father has some connections in Alberta and I thought all the refineries and stuff up there. If I helped him out, I'd scratch his back he'd scratch mine kind of thing. He isn't living with me now though; we had a falling out. (Matthew)*

As stated earlier, this region is also the site of a number of big resource development projects, which has had the effect of inflating costs of local rental property which targets the workers at these sites – a point we will return to below – and because the workers on these sites are primarily men, the rental options were less suitable for women. It was common for rental accommodations to cater to men in the trades (e.g., renting rooms in a house with other men in the trades working in the region), and women were less inclined to opt for such accommodations, meaning they often had to acquire accommodations that were more expensive (e.g., renting an apartment on one's own vs renting with roommates) or further away from campus, adding to the daily commute, provided they had access to a car.

*There wasn't much to it I guess. I wanted the place with the least amount of driving and I live just down the street [from CNA-Placentia] like half a kilometer. I live with four other people [men] but no one that I knew before. Two are from St. John's, one is from Cape Broyle and one is from the Philippines. He works in Long Harbour." (Adam)*

*Well, I've never been out here [Placentia] before so I just... me and my parents came out and we just drove around. Well, they have a sheet on the CNA website that gives you like places, so we called all them and most of them were taken so we just came out and like drove around. All the 'for rent' signs, we just called them all... they were all either too much [expensive rent] or they were just like for people*

*in Long Harbour. You know, so there was like men sharing apartments, or there was one house that had five people living in it, stuff like that. Anyway, actually on the sheet there was one and we couldn't get a hold of her and finally we got a hold of her. We went to see it and it was like perfect, so I told her right then I was taking it! (Cathy)*

At the same time, there is some indication that the PO trade itself may be viewed as less strictly gendered than other skilled trades and therefore less exclusionary to women. This perception may partly explain the disproportionate number of women enrolled in the course. Because the PO trade involves less manual labour than other trades, it may be a more attractive option to women.

*Well my father – when he was working out west, he was working with Process Operators, and I have bad knees and he said it's a lot less physical labor. That was basically what it came down to (Adam).*

*I finished high school, then I went and did first year engineering, and then I did six weeks of architectural [both at CNA Ridge Road campus in St. John's], and I wasn't very fond of that [laughs]. I didn't like being on a computer all day, so I took last year off trying to figure out what I wanted to do. I was looking at the trades, and I didn't think I was very hands-on so I didn't think this program was as much hands-on. It was more of like, the education side to it. So I got into this and now, just hoping to get a job. I was kind of thinking about doing Pipe Fitting in Clarenville, but I came into this. Mainly just because... living home kind of thing... less expensive. (Tim)*

Third, while there are some financial supports for PO students, individual and families are largely bearing the costs of EDGM. Rental rates in the region are inflated due to the high demand for accommodations for mobile workers associated with the major resource developments in the region. In addition to rent, students must cover the costs of tuition and related school materials, and related travel. According to the survey data, students drew on a number of sources to fund their EDGM including parental contributions (35.7%), personal employment savings (21.4%), line of credit/student loan (14.29%), sponsorships (from HRDC or other government agency) (28.6%), and other sources such as RRSP contributions and Employment In-

surance (14.3%). Students relying on financial assistance programs reported difficulty accessing information and applying for the programs, and delays in receiving funding. None of the students surveyed reported their education as being funded by scholarships. Data from survey results show all of the students interviewed (n=8) indicated their education as being funded, at least in part, by parental contributions. Parental contributions include housing. Local students could remain living at home as a way to offset some of the costs of EDGM and those whose family owned property in the area could avail of that resource. Access to housing may be a reason why in a few cases parents encouraged their children to enroll in the PO course.

*Well I only moved back to the house that my mother grew up in, so it kind of wasn't really a move because I was out there growing up when I was a little girl, so... and my parents come out every second weekend. That's in [a nearby community], on the other side of Long Harbour. (Claire)*

*Moving is not really too hard for me. I moved to go to St. John's my first year out of high school and that was further than I am now. If anything my first year out moving to St. John's was harder than moving to Placentia. Because Placentia is where my Father's side of the family is so I have relatives down here, and I have a house down here that I can stay in that I don't have to pay rent, and I also have a vehicle. When I was in St. John's I was renting off of a friend, and I was taking the Metrobus. (Matthew)*

Finally, emotional connection to place is an important dimension of EDGM and future mobilities. Beyond the material benefits of having family connections to a place (e.g., family can provide housing and other supports while attending school), positive and negative experiences of a place shape young people's orientations towards rural places and the province more generally. As suggested previously, integration into community for those who moved to Placentia for training was easier for those who had some kind of family connection to the place (e.g., relatives, local property). However, most rental property (e.g., renting rooms) did not easily accommodate visits from family or friends, and where students lived alone, they were susceptible to loneliness. While even local students complained of boredom, their family connections provided a buffer against it.

*I don't enjoy it. It's my first time living by myself so it kind of sucks. I drive back home every weekend so, yeah I drive back every weekend... back to St. John's. But then I'm here for the week and, I don't know... it sucks, being by yourself. Well my boyfriend moved with me for the first two weeks but then he got a new job so, I'm out here by myself... me and my dog. It's just that I was not used to being by myself and I've never lived by myself before... so I was like, you know... didn't know what to do. And then I had to go buy stuff for a house and all this. But yeah... just being alone pretty much. It's different. (Cathy)*

*I work at [local fast food establishment]. I don't really have to and I'm only allowed to work about 20 hours but it's really boring here, and I worked at [same chain] last year. I figured I'd go up there and apply and I did (Amy)*

While not all of the PO students indicated a preference to move to/stay in Placentia if they got a PO job at Vale's processing plant in Long Harbour, generally speaking, all of the PO students indicated a preference to stay in NL. Students largely accepted that this would likely entail some kind of commuting (e.g., living in St. John's and commuting to rural places or out of province) but students' articulations of their future employment and living preferences point to a desire to maintain connections to this place. It is worth noting that what drew many to the PO course in the first place was the potential for long-term employment in the processing plant in Long Harbour. This is unusual for skilled trades training courses in two ways: It links training directly to specific employment outcomes, and it allows for a more predictable work and commuting schedule long term, whereas most skilled trades workers must follow the work so to speak.

*Well, I hope to graduate [laughs]. I hope to get a job in town [St. John's], with good pay, but if not I don't really mind moving. Well, I say that now... but, I probably wouldn't enjoy it... but I wouldn't mind. I probably wouldn't move away but I would do the two weeks there, or off, or whatever. From town, I would expect to leave the area, because... well, you can get some jobs in town like at the Brewery, but I would probably rather work at a job like in Long Harbour, so if I could get one there, yeah. (Cathy)*



*I'm not sure if I want to go offshore on a rig or if I want to work here just I don't know, I do a lot of hunting so... but I was thinking like a turn-around where I could get a week off instead of a weekend. (Adam)*

*I'd like to stay in Newfoundland and I'd like to work on an oilrig. I adore the idea of working turn-arounds... 3 weeks on, 3 weeks off sort of thing. Nine to five jobs are good for families and stuff but at this point in my life I haven't really considered family. I'm just in the business of making quick money and having a lot of time to myself. So a nice turn around on the rigs would be good. I'd be willing to move just to make money. I'd rather stay here but if I have to I'll go. (Matthew)*

## Summary

Taking a biographical approach to the EDGMs of PO students highlights the importance of documenting the real life experiences of young people, including what they do and what they think. Using this approach we have challenged the dominant view of youth as lacking in aspirations and information about skilled trades training. Students in this study accepted a responsibility for acquiring credentials to find a good job, but experienced a great deal of ambiguity and even misinformation about program funding and job outcomes related to training. This ambiguity points to a number of problems, including the extent to which government, industry and the CNA have shared understandings and intentions regarding program delivery and outcomes, and the lack of formal mechanisms to follow up with students post-graduation to collect information about employment outcomes. Currently, the only formal tracking mechanism exists for students who register as an apprentice, and given that up to the point of data collection, no student had registered, there is no way of knowing to what extent the program is meeting intended goals, e.g., employment outcomes. This produces a dilemma for young people: They are being encouraged to enter into skilled trades programming and carry the costs associated with EDGM without having a good sense of the outcomes, and other research suggests that this is not unique to PO students. Apprentices in other programs have complained about the difficulty finding employment in their field post-graduation despite the promise of work in the booming resource sector. This situation leaves young people especially vulnerable to prolonged dependency on family or the state to support their education,

and their current and future EDGM and mobilities for employment are linked to their ability to access familial and other resources.

The PO course is unique compared to most other skilled trades courses in that, as stated earlier, there has been an assumption that, while the course content is generalizable and meant to transfer to a variety of different workplaces, this study confirms the finding in previous studies that the course was also intended to help build a local pool of skilled workers for the Vale plant. This context makes it difficult to separate some of the influences contributing to EDGM from the “promise” of employment following training in the same region. Nevertheless, the context does allow for a better understanding of the degree to which programs aimed at training the local labour force are successful. Youth employment in the region is high and one might expect that there would be strong local uptake in the course; however this study suggests otherwise. Instead, most of the students in this study come from outside the region, and it seems that few people from the course actually get the jobs. In other words, PO students' EDGMs are characterized primarily by long distance, though usually temporary migration to Placentia. Only two of the students in this study were from the town, though others had family connections to the region. We suggest that young people's EDGMs may reflect a broader orientation to mobility related to the structure of employment in resource extraction sector in the province and their emotional connections to place. While not all of the PO students indicated they would move to/stay in Placentia if they got a PO job at Vale's plant, they did accept that future employment at the plant in Long Harbour or elsewhere would likely entail some kind of commuting. In general, students point to a desire to stay in the province to live and work, but many indicated a willingness to work shift rotations or “turnarounds” out of province in order to maintain connections to Newfoundland and Labrador. On the one hand, it seems as if certain kinds of employment-related geographical mobilities have become normalized – this has been called a culture of migration by some scholars (Ni Laoire, 2000, Corbett, 2009) – and on the other, students think about these mobilities as ways to keep connected.

Finally, using the biographical approach, we have documented the salience of the gendered local labour market in shaping men's and women's experiences of EDGM. The large number of women in the PO course is unusual given their underrepresentation in skilled trades courses. We suggest that women's interest in skilled trades likely reflects the efforts to make trades work more diverse,

but that within trades certain kinds of programming or employment outcomes may be preferable. First, the data suggest that the course may be perceived as requiring less manual labour than other skilled trades and therefore less strictly associated with men's work. Second, the possibility of employment at the plant in Long Harbour may be especially appealing to women because of the relatively fixed nature of the work. In other words, skilled trades work in the resource sector in the province and indeed across the country is associated with various forms of geographical mobility, following short term projects. PO work in Long Harbour by contrast offers employment that is relatively predictable and long term. It is well documented that long distance employment-related geographical mobility poses problems for women due to child care and familial responsibilities (See Hanson, 2010 for review of the literature on the relationship between gender and mobility). Women's (and men's) abilities to participate in particular kinds of trades work and related mobilities are shaped by the broader gender structure of the resource sector – a structure that is better suited for workers unencumbered by familial responsibilities and assumes that a worker is willing, ready and able to be mobile as needed, which in turn shapes local housing options that cater to a male workforce.

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